

January, 1927

25 Cents

Labor Age

The National Monthly

1927's War Front

1. Blackjack Jerome In Frisco
2. "Wife In Name Only" ---At Lynn

The Opposition's "Why"

Anti-Union Education

Husband and Wife

Announcing a Bureau

Sad But Sad

Hands Off Mexico!

Gentlemen Prefer Bonds

"Safe for Judgocracy!"

\$2.50 per Year

Labor Age

The National Monthly

25 Cents per Copy

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Presenting all the facts about American labor—Believing that the goal of the American labor movement lies in industry for service, with workers' control.



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Labor Age

The National Monthly

1927's War Front

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EXTRA!

Black Team—Passaic's First Daily

PASSAIC, N. J., THURSDAY, DECEMBER 14, 1927

PRINTING CO.

BOTANY SETTLES!

Outstanding Figures in Strike Settlement



**GREAT PLANT AND GARFIELD WORSTED
RECOGNIZE UNION AND THE RIGHT TO
COLLECTIVE BARGAINING—STRIKE OVER**

Strike Ended at 9:45 O'clock Last Night: When Strikers Ratified Agreement Procured by President McMahon—Picket Lines Withdrawn—Both Mills to Take Back Former Workers Before Hiring New Help—Rejoicing in Union Camps.

Botany Consolidated Mills, Inc., have settled with the United Textile Workers of America.

So far as Botany and Garfield Worsted are concerned, the great textile strike, which began at Botany ten months and two weeks ago yesterday morning, ended, officially, last night at 9:45 o'clock, when the striking workers, in mass meeting at Uranium Hall, Front Street, ratified terms of settlement arrived to by Botany officials on Saturday.

Ray Said \$162,500 Would Pay

Enough To Take Care Of Their Compensation And "Fair Properties" Of The Damages

Mayor John R. McGowan

WORKING-CLASS action has written these headlines on the pages of the local papers in Passaic. It is that Victory in six languages, to which we have looked forward since the beginning of the big textile strike. "Labor Age" has fought with and for the Passaic strikers—not merely through the printed page, but on the public platform and in the strikers' meetings—through every hour of the eleven months of strike. We did this, because we saw that the spirit of those valiant soldier-workers would win. With the settlement at the Botany Mills—hitherto the center of Reaction—a decided break has been made on the part of the bosses.

Three mills have settled; three remain out. These must be brought to terms. That is the first task in 1927. We who have aided, must aid Passaic again and again—until Frostman and Hoffman, with the New Jersey Worsted and Spinning Co. and the Gera Mill recognize the union.

What has been begun at Passaic must go forward, with renewed vigor, in the year opening before us. Two glimpses of the war front are seen in the following articles. They are typical of what we are facing. Company unionism, backed by intimidation and Sobbery, is the business to break at Lynn. The strong arm of the Open Shoppers—as used at Frisco—is another definite enemy that we must meet squarely, in the year to come, if we are to progress. In this and subsequent issues, a program of suggestions on the most effective ways and means to advance our cause will be presented and discussed. The first step is to get out our message, through lectures and news releases, to the newspapers—thus building up a public opinion of our own.

Our wish to you is not merely a "Happy New Year but a Fighting, Victorious 1927".

Wife In Name Only

The "Generous Electric" Drama of "East Lynn, West Lynn"

By LOUIS FRANCIS BUDENZ

I. A PEEP AT "PARADISE"

WE were gathered together in a little room, in a cottage whose location shall remain a mystery. It was a night of freedom. The good housewife had given us the keys to her small domain. Clouds of tobacco smoke filled the room, proclaiming that we had taken full advantage of her generosity.

Puffing at their pipes, the men had gradually come to feel at ease. They had come quietly, solemnly, even furtively, one by one, to the place of meeting. But it lay far from the shadow of the big works at West Lynn. Even the big electric sign that proudly announces the dominance of the General Electric Co. could not be seen from the windows. They were safe, for that evening, from the prying eyes of Mr. Nelson P. Darling's "honey boys".

There were some twenty of us there. "Buck" Reed of Salem, for one, and—but the rest of the names must remain blanks; something like the censored portions of a newspaper in a land ruled by dictators. That was the promise I had to make to them, before the conversation made headway. It was only after much verbal sparring, and after my solemn oath of secrecy upon my honor as a man, that even some of their names could be procured for my own personal records.

The atmosphere of suspicion stunned me for a moment. General Manager Darling's "Paradise" has been heralded far and wide as a beautiful experiment in "Industrial Democracy". I had also just read the account of our good friend, Bob Bruere, in the *SURVEY GRAPHIC* of April, 1926 and no one can doubt Bob's deep interest in the Organized Labor movement. Had he not stated that the West Lynn company union was "a testing station"—a laboratory—in industrial relations? "Perhaps," thought I, as we hurried over the Boston and Maine to Lynn, "this is after all one company union which has proved a substitute for trade unionism."

Those first few moments disabused me of all that. Such suspicion as existed among these men must have some basis in fact; and that it has, the subsequent part of this sketch will prove. If West Lynn be a laboratory, it is one that will eventually blow up, revealing the tyranny that lies below all the psalm-singing on the part of Darling and his gods, back in Schenectady.

The First Villain

It was the National War Labor Board which played the first role of villain here, as in so many other places. We knew all about that, out in St. Louis in those war years. Steve Butler of the Musicians' Union, with my co-operation, was pulling strike after strike of the unorganized. We were successfully enrolling them as members of Organized Labor. When subtly the word came that we had better resign ourselves into the benevolent hands

of the National War Labor Board, or the brand of "traitor" would be put upon us. In that way, in center after center, were the workers robbed of the fruits of victory.

So even did it go in West Lynn. It was in July, 1918, that the men walked out to form their trade unions. The union organizers had been for days at the company gates. They were uncertain of the number of men inside the plants who were with them. On a certain day, megaphones appeared at every gate of the two plants—the River Works and the Federal Street establishment. Through them, the announcement was made of the day and hour of the walkout. It was a bold move, splendidly rewarded. Headed by two brass bands, the men came out, 100 per cent.

They had torn down, for the first time, the industrial autocracy that the "G. E." had built up there. Then along came the War Labor Board — preferable, the unions thought, to the conciliators of the State of Massachusetts. In that they were right—it was the choice of the lesser of two evils.

The Board's decision allowed the unions to remain. But it also set up the company union. In a very short time, it had strengthened the company union immensely and had virtually signed the death warrant of trade unionism, under the then given conditions. A dispute had arisen as to whether the company union elections and other operations should be carried on inside the works or on the outside. The Board, after a hesitant decision in favor of the outside, finally settled upon the inside as the proper place. By that act, every man who knows the labor struggle knows, the control of industrial relations passed once more into the grip of the company. It was only a matter of time until the company could bribe enough union men and intimidate enough others, into betrayal and destruction of their chief protection.

"Look at the Grievances"

"What do you think of this company union and of the way it functions?" I asked the men, after we had come to know each other.

"Well," spoke up one, who is a representative under the plan, "it reminds me of the novel 'Wife in Name Only'. It is a union in name alone."

The rest readily assented. "You have merely to look at the list of grievances," added the representative, one of several present at this meeting. "They show the growing lack of confidence in the scheme among the men. Right along, the grievances have steadily declined in number. Many men have quit in disgust at the wretched conditions existing in the plants. Now, they are introducing a new form of speed-up among us—one under which the men will never know whether they have been paid correctly or not."

IN THE NEXT ISSUE

Continuation of "Generous Electric" Expose

This little sketch is but the beginning. We plan to delineate step by step, the process of intimidation and bribery which broke down the unions at West Lynn, and the unscrupulous methods by which the "company union" is now maintained. It will take several installments to do this adequately.

Further, we still have that article on Union-Management Cooperation up our sleeve. It was pushed out again this month. Despair not, gentle reader. It is coming, coming—and replies to it, also.

At least one hundred men have left during the past year, by reason of this disgust. Others would do so in great numbers, if they dared. They are all tied up in investments and group insurance and other clap-trap—of which full mention will be made in a later chapter.

"But what about this provision?" I asked them, pointing to the first "article" in the little brown-backed booklet on the "Plan of Representation", which I had secured.

I read the "article" aloud to them:

"Protection of Representatives"

"The Management and the Employees expect that each Representative will discharge his duties in an independent manner without fear that his individual relations with the Management may be affected in the least degree by an action taken by him in good faith, in his representative capacity. To insure each Representative of his right to such independent action, he may take the question of whether his relations with the Management have been affected, on account of his acts in his representative capacity, direct to the General Joint Committee on Adjustments or to the Manager of the Works."

There is a further clause—Article 39—guaranteeing that there will be no discrimination "in respect to race, creed, society, fraternity or union."

The men laughed. "Good faith", answered they, repeating the words of Article I, "What is good faith? The company can interpret that anyway it sees fit. Ask Harry Evets and Wright Greggson about 'no discrimination', and protection for representatives."

Often, during my sojourn among the men of Lynn and West Lynn, did I hear the names of Evets and Greggson. Their cases sealed the doom of "fair play" in the company union scheme. It was my good fortune to spend a whole day with the latter, now secretary to the Mayor of Peabody, Mass. He is a Britisher by birth, a man of thought and culture, and not the sort that one would pick as a "troublemaker" or "agitator". Of the cases of both of these men we shall have much more to say. Now we will give a brief outline of their treatment at the hands of the "Generous Electric", as the men sarcastically dub it.

Harry Evets and Wright Greggson

Harry Evets stood out against the company's dominating the conditions under which the men would work—virtually dictating the method used in the piece-work system of operation, etc. He called a strike in one of the buildings, which went out in toto. Through Greggson's influence and that of others, Evets got the men back to work, pending action by the company union.

After that, Evets was a marked man. Every mean method was used to force him to quit. In a short time, he was "fired" for "profanity", by one of the most profane men in the whole G. E. works.

Wright Greggson was not only a representative. He was also a member of the Board of Adjustment. "Guarantees" of all sorts, therefore, surrounded his person. They availed him nothing. Interesting himself in the Evets case, in the system used by the company for speeding up, and in every complaint of the men, he was soon to feel the iron hand of the company. Disobedient, he was to be expelled from Darling's "Paradise".

He was harassed in this way and that. He was assigned to the difficult I-14 Meter case, plainly with the intent of catching him and exposing him as an "agitator". He was accused of being a "red" and hauled into the office, to be confronted by the State Police. Finally, in desperation, he got out—and in his going, there sounded the deathknell of decency within the Lynn plants of the G. E.

To Please the Management

"But what about Bruere?" I inquired of the gathering. "How did he come to get such a roseate view of this mess?"

"That's easy," came the answer. "He came to the plant, with a letter from Mr. Swope of Schenectady. Immediately the word went around that he was a management man. His talk about sympathy with the trade unions was considered 'poppycock'. We all decided to talk favorably of the plan, as that is what the Management wants done."

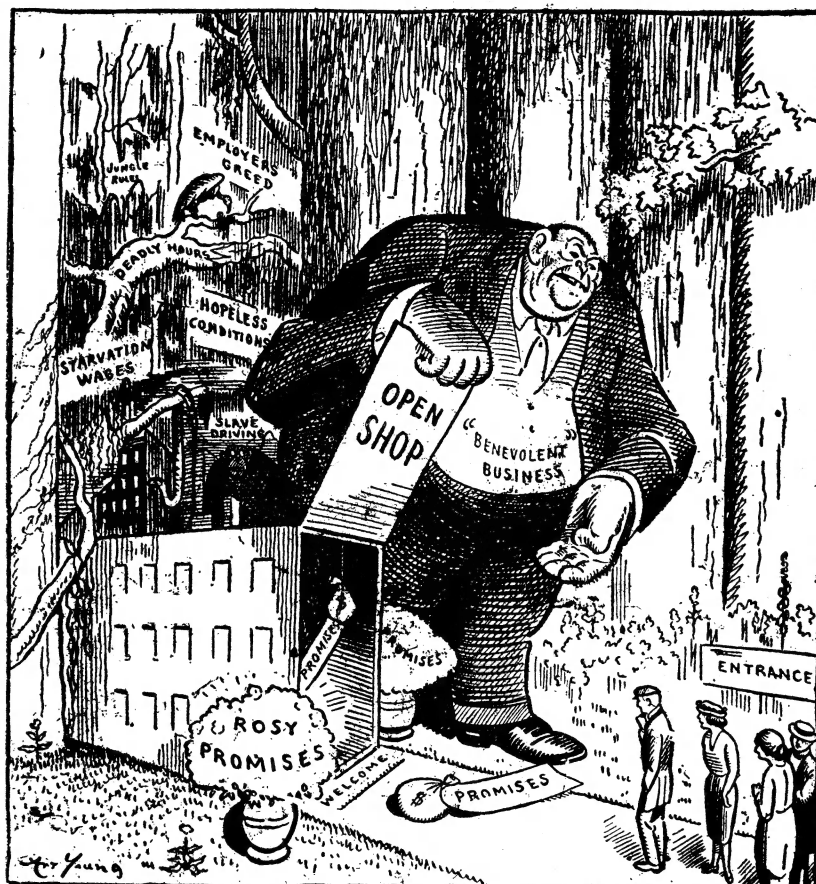
So there you are. Around West Lynn, the publicity men of the General Electric—well-paid out of the hides of the speeded-up workers—have spun a romance as full of plain piffle as "East Lynn" itself. This will be made clearer, even, in the chapters to come.

PRISONERS OF PASSAIC

In its bitter fight to defeat the union, the Forstman and Hoffman Co. has found a good ally in the police of Passaic, as per their usual record. Eleven men have been arrested, on a framed up charge of bombing. The evidence is so absurd, as to be laughable. Save that these men are kept in rotten New Jersey jails, which make the dungeons of the Middle Ages look like palaces! It is part of New Jersey degeneracy that its local officials have not thought fit to provide decent jails—all over the State sinks of filth and decay serving as places of detention for the poor and the "criminal".

These eleven men must be freed. Eminent counsel has volunteered to aid them, free of charge. Help to save them by sending funds to the Passaic Prisoners Defense Committee, Hollace Ransdell, Secretary, 743 Main Avenue, Passaic, N. J.

THE TRAP



OPEN SHOPPERS CLEARING DECKS

And What Are the Central Bodies Doing?

DOUBT truth to be a liar, O ye workers, but never doubt WE HATE. On the crisp Christmas air cometh this message of good will from Open Shoppery. With the coming New Year, the class war must be stirred and turned and made to blaze.

From all quarters of the land the reports come in, post haste, to the office of that bitter-ender, the NEW YORK COMMERCIAL. They tell of the condition of Open Shoppery, as the Open Shoppers see it. Harken to a few choice morsels, from here and there:

"DALLAS—The American Plan Open Shop Conference has been a powerful factor in stimulating interest throughout the entire community in the open shop cause. (Bob Dunn has already informed Labor Age readers of this notable gathering.—Editor.

"OKLAHOMA CITY—The formation of a state-wide open-shop organization is regarded as the biggest forward movement in the state, in the consolidation of open shop forces.

"SAN ANTONIO—Revival needed in open shop sentiment. Business men must be made to appreciate that the community is not to lose its industrial freedom.

"SALT LAKE CITY—Healthy sentiment among contractors on open shop. Employment bureau conducted by industrial association important factor in attitude of contractors."

Fourteen other cities send in war communiques; about the latest developments on the far-flung battle-front. Babbity is up in arms. The horrible working class must be put down. On, on, ye faithful Paunch-bellies, to victory! "Militancy", "Unity", "Industrial Freedom", ring out as their battle cries.

What, meantime, are the central bodies doing? We hear of many of them not all all. Are they shouting these counter-cries from their own ranks? Are they setting out, in the new way of battle, through the public prints, etc. to give their side of the fight? Are they laughing at jails and carrying the message of organization to the unorganized, as answer to the wails of Babbity?

Blackjack Jerome in Frisco

"Industrial Association" Violence Against Coast Carpenters

By ROBERT W. DUNN

LOCAL and state associations to combat unions and fight for the open shop employ a wide variety of names—employers' associations, American Plan associations, merchants and manufacturers' associations, associated industries, chambers of commerce, citizens' committees, manufacturers' associations. We shall deal here with only a few of the hundreds of such organizations now booming in the United States. To describe in some detail the activities of one typical outstanding association is to give the picture of most of them. Let us examine one which calls itself an "Industrial association".

The most important local employers' association on the Pacific coast is the Industrial Association of San Francisco. It was organized in 1921 out of a broken strike of the building trades unions of that city. The industrial relations committee of the local Chamber of Commerce which had borne the brunt of the strike-breaking work during the strike issued a general "call to arms" echoed by the powerful business interests of the city. The Industrial Association was the result of this call. Its purpose was to enforce the non-union shop chiefly in the building trades.

The Managing director of the association has declared repeatedly that the organization is "not an employers' organization" and that "it is not in the union busting business . . . it represents the public and the public only and stands for fair play and sound industrial relations". We shall discover as we proceed to analyze the work of this and similar employers' associations what they mean by "sound industrial relations".

The association works in close cooperation with the Builders' Exchange, the building employers' council of the city. As a result serious inroads have been made on union strength in the building industry of San Francisco which is to-day, according to the Wall Street Journal, one of the leading "open shop cities" having secured what they term "complete emancipation from the trade unions".

The "Men of Vision"

There can be no mistaking the effect this association has had upon the trade union control of the job in San Francisco. As early as the fall of 1923 the association boasted in "THE AMERICAN PLAN", its monthly organ, that "to-day 85 per cent of all men who earn their bread by manual toil, work under open shop conditions. What more complete transformation! Three years ago over ninety per cent worked under absolutely closed shop union conditions. To-day over 85 per cent work under open shop conditions." So far as we know the percentage has not decreased since that date.

It is interesting to observe that the business men who instituted this nearly non-union regime in San Francisco

look upon themselves as heroic pioneers and "dreamers"—"men of vision", to use their own characterization. Says the AMERICAN PLAN, the organ of the association:

"The men who gathered for the struggle to strike the shackles from this community were dreamers. But their dreams have come true. The men who made the fight had visions, and their hopes have been realized. It is an old saying that the worthwhile men of the world are the men with dreams and visions—the men whose eyes are turned toward the East; the men whose mental horizons are limitless; the men whose heads are with the stars while their feet remain on solid ground."

There can be no doubt that these men kept their feet firmly on the ground. The Industrial Association conducted several campaigns for a fund to carry on its anti-union work. Twice within five years it raised a million dollars and in 1926 it levied assessments on the merchants and manufacturers of San Francisco to pay for its bitter fights against the carpenters, molders and other unions. According to the secretary-treasurer of the California State Federation of Labor certain well-known corporations each subscribed \$10,000 or more during the first "slush fund assessment". In view of the industrial professions of some of these corporations, and their devotion to the company union which they have installed to pacify their workers, it is of interest to give the list in part:

Alexander & Baldwin Ltd.....	\$10,000
American Factors Co.	10,000
Anglo-London and Paris National Bank.....	15,000
Bank of California	15,000
Bethlehem Ship Building Corporation.....	20,000
California and Hawaiian Sugar Company.....	25,000
California Packing Company	10,000
Crocker National Bank	15,000
The Emporium	10,000
Fireman's Fund Insurance Company	10,000
Hawaiian Commercial and Sugar Company.....	10,000
Matson Navigation Company	10,000
Market Street Railroad Company.....	10,000
Mercantile Trust Company	10,000
Pacific Gas & Electric Company.....	15,000
Santa Fe Railroad Company.....	15,000
Southern Pacific Railroad Company.....	30,000
Pacific Oil Company	10,000
J. D. and A. B. Spreckels Company.....	25,000
Standard Oil Company	30,000
Union Oil Company	15,000
Welch & Company	10,000
Wells Fargo National Bank.....	15,000
Associated Oil Company	15,000

Most of these funds were raised by promises to the employers to "insure them against industrial contro-

LABOR AGE

versy" and to make San Francisco "the freest city in the Anglo-Saxon world", in other words as nearly a completely non-union city as possible.

The various methods used to bring about this open shop condition out of a San Francisco which had been very effectively organized by the unions up to 1920, have been attacked by the representatives of the trade unions. "Organized Labor" the official journal of the state and local building trades council of California charged the Industrial Association with using brutal and illegal methods to crush organized labor in the city, particularly in the course of its open shop drive against the carpenters union in 1926. During a strike of this union for collective bargaining, which began April 1, 1926 the association employed the noted detective and strikebreaker "Black Jack" Jerome to direct the war against the Union carpenters. Jerome produced a small army of thugs, gunmen and ex-convicts just as he had in the Denver tramway strike in 1920 where an investigation commission from the National Catholic Welfare Council and local religious bodies had found him commanding his thugs: "When you shoot be sure and shoot straight" (see "The Labor Spy", Sidney Howard, page 195). It was Jerome who committed the first violence in the San Francisco strike just as in the Denver strike. His first victim was a disabled war veteran. Jerome assaulted him and was arrested. He pled guilty and was fined. He confessed that he was in the employ of the Industrial Association. This was also admitted by the managing director of the Association.

Blackjacking for the Open Shop

One of Jerome's men, Harry Smith, testifying in an injunction trial at the time said that a daily list to be "beaten up" was furnished to Jerome. He told how he and another guard named Dooley had blackjacked one Daniels, a union man, in his home. When arrested they had the cards of the attorney for the Industrial Association in their pockets. They told the police he was their attorney. Smith also testified that the Industrial Association had a regular scale of prices for sluggings ranging from \$10 to \$50 depending on the extent of the "massage" accomplished on the victim. For a full "polish", or killing, anywhere from \$250 to \$1000 was demanded by the Jerome agency.

Another guard, on the stand, told of his participation as one of Jerome's "flying squadron" which specialized in attacks on union men. He submitted to the court the names of various union members and union business agents he had been engaged to assault. Other guards gave similar testimony. One of them, named Redstrom, admitted that he had received his firearms from an employee of the Industrial Association. The latter admitted in court that he had furnished the weapons.

The Case of Gus Madsen

During this visitation of violence directed by firearm expert Jerome, the union workers were naturally driven into some reprisals against the "American Plan workmen" of the Industrial Association. But much of the evidence against them was secured in a strange manner. In the fall of 1926 after the strike had lasted some six months

the Association caused the arrest of two carpenters' union officials and six other union carpenters on charges of murder and criminal conspiracy, "without a syllable of evidence of the guilt of these men," according to the union spokesmen, except the forced "confessions" of two workers who were given a brutal third-degree and threatened with a thorough "massage" if they didn't "come clean". The use of the third degree torture has become so common in the industrial struggle that the affidavits made by the "confessors", asserting that "we signed the statement rather than be beaten to death by the police", are of particular interest. They are similar to those made by workers in Passaic who during the textile strike were given Torquemadian third degree treatment to extract "confessions".

The first by Gus Madsen, a union carpenter, gives a picture of the police methods used:

I, Gus Madsen, being first duly sworn, on my oath depose and say: That I am arrested at 11:30 p. m., October 26, at my home at 539 Octavia Street, San Francisco, Calif. They (the police) came and got me, calling me a "murdering — — —," and put me into a car. When they got me into the car they choked me and tried to make me "confess". Then they took me to the Hall of Justice and took me into the detectives' room and made me sign a statement, after they had beat me up.

There were six officers came out after me, and they had no warrant. They took me in a machine to the detectives room. There were four men and Sergeant Hyland there. They showed me statements from the other fellows that they were supposed to have signed. They all had a crack at me, hitting me in the face, and hitting me in the stomach and on the shoulders and arms; but I refused to sign the statements. . . . All this time they kept hitting me in the face, and they said that if I didn't sign the statement, they 'would take me downstairs where the real wrecking crew was.' They asked me what doctor I went to, and I said Dr. Logan. They asked me who took me down, and I told them 'Red and Pesce.' They were taking this down in writing on the type writer, and when I hesitated about answering, they would hit me again and again. Finally I was forced to sign the statement. They told me everything to say, and all that I said was "yes" and "no".

They tried to bribe me, offering me money to get out of the state safe, and they promised me that the worst I'd get would be probation. The statement they made me sign was not true. . . . and I only signed the statement because I was afraid they would kill me, and believe me, I was scared they would!

They said that we would get probation and be in the street in less than a week. They told me I had better make a statement which would pay us, or else I would be treated rough again, and that is the reason that I went before the grand jury, and that is the reason I said all I did, and it was not true.

GUS MADSEN

The second by George Pesce, a union carpenter, indicates the similar treatment by the police on instigation of the Industrial Association:

"I, George B. Pesce, being first duly sworn, on my oath depose and say: That they came to my house to arrest

me at about 1 o'clock a. m. on the morning of the 27th of October, and told me to put on my clothes and go with them. I did, and they said to me, "You know what we are taking you down for," and I said, "No, unless on suspicion," and they put me in a machine, a Packard, and took me to the Hall of Justice. There were four of them and myself in the car. They got me down to the Hall of Justice, and they took me from room to room asking me about the Campbell case. I insisted that I didn't know a thing about it, and kept on insisting, and finally they took me into Capt. Matheson's office and they kept on asking me about it and I kept on that I didn't know, and then all of a sudden, I was hit in the back and the stomach four or five times, on the chin, and I was knocked down, and kicked on the left side. They told me that if I did not sign a statement they would take me downstairs to a real wrecking crew, and I told them that I would sign anything rather than get killed.

All the time they were beating me, they kept calling me a "murdering — — —," and other names. I was so sore from the beating that I agreed to do anything rather than get beat up any more. That's how I come to sign it. The fact is that the statement was not true and I don't know anything about the Campbell case. I signed the statement rather than get beat to death.

During this time Sergeant Hyland made the remark that 'no — — —, ever left Capt. Matheson's office without confessing.'

I asked to see a lawyer and they refused, saying that they would see about a lawyer, and that they were going to put the other fellows over in San Quentin. They said that 'they had three men in the No. 1 gang that they got all the information from.'

After I signed the statement, they took me into the women's dormitory, and Fredman and Kilrain were there. Madsen and I went in together. Kilrain told me they pretty near killed him, and he was forced to sign the statement, which was not true.

After I did get my lawyers, then they put me back in the cell in the city prison. Just before that they brought up some 'hooligan' from the Industrial Association, named Thompson, who said he was a lawyer, and said if he did take our case, if we would let him, that if he got us back on the street, we would have to pay him, and he would take a note, but if he didn't get us on the street, we would not have to pay anything.

We did not say anything, because we were undecided. We thought we had to take him, or we would be beat up again. They denied us everything, and would not let us see anyone. Even my wife tried to see me and they wouldn't let her see me.

GEORGE B. PESCE

In Other Fields

Although its chief work is carried on in the building industry because of the strength of the unions there, the Industrial Association does not forget its duties in minor fields. It boasts that "by money, employment of men, and other incidents to labor controversies" it succeeded in "putting the cigar, tailoring, garment working, warehousing and taxi industry in San Francisco on the

American Plan, and also aided in breaking a strike of oil workers in 1922, and participated actively in the great metal and shipping industries of this port."

Witness also its attempt to break the local of the Cloth Hat, Cap and Millinery Workers' International Union when that union was in 1925 organizing the small cap shops including that of California Cap Co. The Association forced a strike in this shop by forbidding the company to deal with the union. The workers had organized completely and were simply asking for a collective agreement with the firm. In spite of these tactics, however, the strike was won after ten weeks.

Again, when the waiters' union was struggling for a few cents more in the wage envelope in 1925 the Industrial Association participated in conferences to crush the strike and urged its members to patronize the three hotels where the strike was in progress. This form of support to employers engaged in conflicts with unions is the commonest form of cooperation given by such associations. In this case it sent a circular letter to all its members which read in part:

"There is one effective way of letting the Cliff, St. Francis, and Palace Hotels know how those of us who believe in the American Plan feel about the courageus stand these hotels have taken and that is by giving them our patronage."

The Association has also functioned as a strike-breaking agency in the foundry industry. The International Molders' Union of North America has accused the Industrial Association of using methods to break its San Francisco Local Union No. 164. According to John F. Frey, editor of the INTERNATIONAL MOLDERS' JOURNAL (October 1926, p. 606) the Industrial Association "publicly declared its determination to make every foundry in San Francisco and vicinity a non-union shop".

Says Mr. Frey:

"Foundrymen operating under friendly agreements with Local No. 164 were told that unless they established non-union shops it would be impossible for them to retain their customers. The Industrial Association established a boycott against union shops. Its hired representatives visited buyers of castings and endeavored to have them place their patterns in the non-union Association shops. Bankers refused loans to foundrymen employing our members."

The local molders' union according to Frey was also harassed by spies placed in its ranks to make reports, talk violence and "to incite members to commit some lawless act." Several of these Industrial Association provocateurs were expelled from the union in the course of the struggle to substitute "American Plan methods" for union molders in the foundries.

Violence of Spies and Agents

There were also plenty of acts of violence committed by spies and agents of the Industrial Association in its assault on the molders union. Some of them were described in "ORGANIZED LABOR", July 31, 1926:

"Ralph Gilliland, formerly employed as chauffeur for Boynton, head of the Industrial Association, in an affidavit

LABOR AGE

says: In discussing the shooting of 'American Plan' molders, Boynton said to me that he 'firmly believed that the Industrial Association should use similar methods, as reprisals would teach the union molders that the Industrial Association meant business.'

A. J. MacDonald, formerly employed by the Mundell Detective Agency, employed by the Industrial Association, in an affidavit says: 'Mundell told me that we had to go out and get some union leaders.' That he and others were furnished with rifles, equipped with Maxim silencers, and were 'ordered to trail and shoot Frank Brown, secretary of the Molders' Union.'

James Edward Noblet, formerly employed by the Mundell Detective Agency, in an affidavit says: 'Mundell told me he had a job from the Industrial Association to get some of the high officials of the Molders' Union.' He states that he and others were furnished rifles and 'ordered to get Frank Brown, secretary of the Molders' Union.'

John Francis Higgins, formerly employed by the Mundell Detective Agency, in an affidavit says. 'Shemwell and I were given automatic pistols and sent out to get a union man. Shemwell told me he had been brought from Los Angeles by Mundell, employed by the Industrial Association, for the purpose of shooting five officials of the Molders' Union and that he was to be paid \$1000 for each man he shot.'

Tom R. Hilbourn, employed by the Mundell Detective Agency, in an affidavit says: 'Mundell told me that with a large caliber revolver, with the bullet extracted and buckshot substituted, he could make Frank Brown look like a sieve. Mundell also said that the Industrial Association controlled the courts of San Francisco and the Chief of Police. Mundell told me that the Industrial Association wanted us to take some severe action, even to the extent of shooting.'

That violent measures were taken by both sides in these San Francisco strikes no one will deny, but it is particularly interesting to note the character of the agents employed by the "dreamers" and "men of vision" mentioned earlier in this chapter. We have already noted the part played by "Black Jack" Jerome. There was also, according to "ORGANIZED LABOR" one:

"William De Jung, who for some years has been and still is in the employ of the Industrial Association. It was De Jung who took one of the hirelings of the Industrial Association to a construction job, pointed out to him a union carpenter, instructed him to assault the union carpenter, and after he had severely beaten the union carpenter, the 'American Plan' hireling was paid a bonus for the dastardly assault by the Industrial Association.

"Then there is Raymond McDermott.....arrested and fined for assaulting union carpenters, admitted in court that he was an ex-convict and that he was employed by the Industrial Association.

"Another member of this combination is Fred Felix, reported to be one of the notorious Chicago 'gangsters', said to have a criminal record, who, when arrested for stealing an automobile, demanded his immediate release because he was an employee of the Industrial Association.

"Many others too numerous to mention, when arrested and found to have pistols, blackjacks and brass knuckles in their possession, have admitted that they were employed by the Industrial Association."



MORE BLACKJACKERY
(See Page 22)

Such were the men and the more spectacular methods used by the high-minded and idealistic American Plan advocates in their campaign to destroy the foundations of labor unionism in San Francisco. But there were still other forms of pressure employed, other weapons seized upon in this battle to "free" the city. One was the "Citizens Committee of One Hundred" which the Industrial Association organized to maintain "law and order" and to stir up public sentiment against the unions by publicity suggesting that the unions had something to do with the current crime wave in the city. "The real object of this committee," spokesmen of labor contended, "is to discredit union labor, to intimidate public officials, to replenish the treasury of the Industrial Association and to bolster up the so-called 'American Plan' which is only another name for the non-union shop."

The Permit System

The "permit system", instituted by the Industrial Association was an effort to make it impossible for any contractor or employer hiring union men or, dealing with the union through collective bargaining, to purchase materials and supplies. The association continued to use the system even after the Federal District Courts had found it guilty of conspiracy, coercion, profiteering, collusion, blacklisting, threats and boycotting. The Supreme Court to which the case was carried by the Industrial Association reversed the injunction against the permit system on the technical grounds that the materials were not involved in interstate commerce. A Wall Street journal account of the workings of the permit system tells us that "contractors operating on the closed shop basis could obtain neither credit nor materials".

Another device used by the association in its efforts

THE AMERICAN BUREAU FOR INDUSTRIAL FREEDOM

An Announcement at Our Fifth Anniversary Dinner

EATING one's way to progress is not our way. It has become too much of a habit among those who use it as an excuse to do nothing. On occasions such as our fifth anniversary, however, we feel that a little breaking of bread together, with a discussion of actual problems before us, is of value and inspiration.

So it proved to be on December 14, 1926. As the country newspapers always put it, "a pleasant time was had by all." Jim Maurer's plea for "the filling of our jails as an answer to the injunction" hit home. Abe Lefkowitz's added emphasis on that same method, and his support of the New York Federation of Labor's bill for curbing the courts inspired the audience to get out and destroy this greatest menace facing the Labor Movement. Bob Dunn gave us a measure of the bankruptcy of Company Unionism, with a hint as to how it can be combatted. Arthur Cook, lately over from Britain, spoke of the value of political action to the British workers and how it must be used even more, now that the "coal strike is lost." The Editor apparently entertained the audience to their satisfaction with his account of his Western trip last year, and with the message that the unorganized can be organized, if we can fire them with the idea that they CAN win. A. J. Muste of Brookwood presided in his usual happy manner.

The most important outcome of the meeting was the announcement that LABOR AGE, as a result of the requests made of it, would try to systematize its investigations at factory gates, through a bureau—THE AMERICAN BUREAU FOR INDUSTRIAL FREEDOM. Previous mention of this fact has been made in several other issues of this publication, but now the bureau is coming to life, to serve unions where it may and to collect data in unorganized industries.

In a nutshell, its objects will be:

1. To educate the unorganized—through vivid campaigns where possible, at factory gates, such as we have carried on at the Bethlehem, in Bayonne,

etc. This to be confined to totally unorganized industries, or upon request from unions in partially organized industries. A number of such requests have already been received.

2. To stimulate the organized—by cooperating with them in securing publicity favorable to the Labor Movement. This will supplement the suggestions being made, month by month, in "Labor Age".

3. To do some research work in regard to the various industries, so that we will know their weaknesses as well as strength, and thus be able intelligently to attack them in the way of educating the unorganized. Also to discover the methods which will make the union campaign in these industries most successful.

The Bureau, established solely for the purpose of serving the Movement, shall have the same basic principles as LABOR AGE, being non-profitmaking and having no concern with organized industries or with the internal policies of the Movement. It shall be under complete control of Labor men and women: the Board of Directors of the Labor Publication Society. This is as it should be.

We hope that unions and union organizers, as so many have in the past, will avail themselves of our cooperation. The encouragement we have received at the start is the finest tribute to the effectiveness of our work during the past five years. This, we hope now to intensify, through the doing of the job in a more systematic way. The subject of our Dinner was, "CAN LABOR ANSWER THE CHALLENGE OF REACTION?" The answer was, that it CAN: By using the same psychological appeals as the Employers, and by adapting our attack to the peculiar conditions in each industry. The bureau's announcement was in itself an assurance that Reaction can be floored, by intelligent and wide-awake attacks on the weak spots of our enemy's citadel.

The Bureau's address will be the LABOR AGE office, I. L. G. W. U. Bldg., 3 West 16th Street, New York City.

to break the unions is a so-called "Impartial Wage Board" to survey conditions in the building industry and recommend wage scales. This was established in the fall of 1926, all of the "impartial" citizens appointed to it being selected by the Industrial Association after assuring itself that they were friendly to the American Plan. In their attack on this device the building trades unions, locally and nationally, contended that the Wage Board was "biased, prejudiced and even anti-union", that "the scheme strikes at the very life of trade unionism by attempting to abrogate the lawful right of union men to bargaining collectively", and that the "wage scales of San Francisco are generally from \$1.00 to \$3.00 a day less than the wage scale paid to building trades me-

chanics for identical service in other cities of the United States. This low scale was brought about and forced upon building workmen by the Industrial Association through the instrumentality of the wage board".

This board set the scales arbitrarily for the American Plan workmen. If a contractor desired to pay his workers a higher scale he was informed by the Industrial Association that he would have to pay the wages fixed by the board or he would be unable to purchase building materials.

The latest statement from the unions on San Francisco is that "whatever the decisions of the board may be we will ignore them and continue the fight for the right to bargain collectively with the employers".

EDITORIALS OF THE MONTH

Kellogg on "Wimmen" and Those Bricklayers

WE are indebted to the humorous weekly, JUDGE, for another leading editorial for November. It has to do with the piece of plaster of paris down in Washington answering to the name of Kellogg. He who kissed Queen Marie's big toe in the name of the U. S. Government, has ruled out Countess Karolyi, the Hungarian democrat, and has said that Madame Kollantay of Russia cannot even look in to this sacred Land of the Lamas. Of him JUDGE wisely sayeth:

THEY SHALL NOT PASS!

(Judge, November 27th)

"If it weren't for an occasional foreign lady with radical leanings we should hardly know that the breath of life still animated the venerable Kellogg. But let such a one attempt to set foot on the sacred soil of the Land of Liberty and out of his box pops the demon Secretary as full of vim and vinegar as a two-year-old. What, let her in? Over his dead body! It is useless to argue with the old gentleman that the Countess Karolyi is not a Communist, and that Mme. Kollantay, who is, merely wished to cross the country on her way to Mexico. No siree, what he knows about wimmen!"

* * *

We have another surprise in store for you. The anti-Labor BOSTON TRANSCRIPT speaks up in defense of the much-maligned bricklayer. Here it is.

PROFESSOR AND BRICKLAYER

(Boston Transcript, November 15th)

"Again comes the comparison between the salary of the educator and the wages of the bricklayer. This time it is embodied in a Seattle despatch saying the compensation of assistant professors at the University of Washington has been fixed by the regents at \$3000 to \$3300 annually, while nearby at Vancouver in British Columbia bricklayers have just won their demand for \$10 a day or, as the despatch puts it, '\$3130 a year.' It is thus made to appear that the earnings of the bricklayer are nearly on a par with the earnings of the assistant professor. It is a case of drawing hasty conclusion from imperfect premise. As a matter of fact the comparison is hardly worth the paper on which it is printed.

"The assistant professor, with his salary fixed at \$3000 a year, knows that is the amount he is to receive. The bricklayer, with a wage of \$10 a day, does not know how much he will earn in a year. If he were guaranteed 313 days' work at \$10 a day he would earn the sum total stated in the despatch. But he may be in luck if he gets 200 days' work in a year."

So much for further November editorials. Those appearing in December will have to be quoted in the forthcoming February number.

SAD BUT SAD

Employers' Pension Plans Pronounced N. G.

IT'S almost as dreadful a piece of news as the Cobb-Speaker scandal, or the sale of Hornsby.

All our idols—including the Benevolent Employers—are falling. As we read it, there steals over us that hunted, haunted feeling that comes to an erring husband, as he dribbles home at 3 o'clock in the morning with an angry wife awaiting him.

The "it" is the report of Old Age Pension Commission of Pennsylvania on "The Problem of Old Age Pensions in Industry." What does "it" state? That the old age pensions handed out by the employers with such a blare of trumpets and clash of cymbals are largely "the bunk". Of course, its language is more gentlemanly, but that is what it signifies. Of "it" we shall have much more to say. For the present we quote this much:

"By no stretch of the imagination can the present corporation pension facilities—including the newer financially sound plans—be made to solve the problem of industrial old age dependency. The great mass of the workers are necessarily left unprotected by the provisions of these plans. . . . Perhaps the failure of a few more pension plans is necessary to awaken public opinion to the dangers inherent in the present condition. . . . Modern old age dependency is a direct hazard of industry. The principles underlying workmen's compensation laws must also apply in the case of old age pensions."

The condition of the majority of the pension funds is such that it is nothing less than criminal that workers are asked to place trust in them. They make good promises to dangle before the workers, to keep the men quiet and servile. In the end, they prove bitter disappointments — most of them not providing a sum large enough to give the worker any hope of later-life independence.

"The majority," says the report, "are being operated without any regard to insurance or actuarial principles. . . . They who rely upon such means for their support when no longer able to work will be sadly disappointed, even as has already been the case with thousands of employees."

Sad, but Sad news for the unorganized workers, who have been roped in by these schemes—sad in more ways than one! For the word "sad", in its old sense, mean "true beyond doubt" as well as "sorrowful". The facts, carefully gathered by Abraham Epstein, for the commission, dash away all hope that may have been placed in these employer-made devices. They give a cue to Organized Labor—to batter down the employer pension schemes with state old age pensions. The New Year, of many legislative sessions, should see us busy pushing these measures for the workers. Not only will they protect us all. They will, also, strike off the shackles of Benevolent Employerdom in one important quarter, and free the workers—now held by these pension hopes—for union organization.

Husband and Wife

In the Union Fight

By FANNIA M. COHN

I. THE UNEXPECTED MEETING

THE worker's wife is waiting for her husband in the evening. All day long she has been busy—cooking, cleaning, caring for the children. But knowing that her husband, too, is wholly devoted to this purpose—of having the family happy—she has been stimulated to greater efforts. It is within her province to make her husband happy, she feels, and so she prepares the meal that he likes best, sets the table attractively, has the children freshen themselves so that their brightness will add to the pleasure of dinner, tells them to have their marks ready so that daddy can see how good they have been in school.

Everything is ready now. The children have been sniffing the cooking, but they have been told that they must hold their appetites in check. The wife is expecting a compensation for her labor in the pleasure she will have when she sees the family about the table, everyone responding to the homelike atmosphere, and husband, children—the family—all happy.

But the husband is delayed. Looking through the window does not bring him. The children, impatiently awaiting daddy, jump at every knock and are disappointed with even a usually most welcome friend. Their happy expressions gradually give place to looks of disappointment. They grow restless and begin to clamor for their food. An exchange of unpleasant remarks follows. Mother no longer urges them to watch for daddy through the window, but instead commands them to await him. Her face, sad and annoyed, frightens the children. They do not question or complain any more, but find an outlet for their disappointment in quarrels with each other.

The already impatient mother is annoyed by this. She sharply commands them to be quiet. The carefully laid table becomes a source of irritation to all of them, still further exciting their appetites, and contrasting their pleasant expectations of a half-hour before with their disappointment now.

A neighbor steps in and unintentionally adds to the wife's irritation by her surprise that the family has not yet eaten dinner. She and her husband are on their way to the movies and have come to invite the family to join them.

An hour has passed. The children are really hungry now and the mother feels she cannot compel them to wait any longer. Just then a knock is heard at the door—and it is opened to reveal the druggist's boy with a telephone message from the husband. An unexpectedly called meeting of the local's executive board made it impossible for him to come home to dinner.

Bitterly irritated, the wife clears the table and serves the food in the kitchen. The children, affected by their

mother's mood, are silent. Dishes are slammed about and the unpleasant meal is not a long one. The wife eats little for she is reflecting angrily on her disappointment. The children hurry away as soon as they have finished eating, and escape to their beds—most welcome refugees now from that tense atmosphere.

Hours later, long after the wife's bed time, a knock at the door arouses the wife from her bitter thoughts. She opens the door. Her husband appears with his usually cordial greeting, his arms outstretched to embrace her. He is given a cold angry reception which he cannot understand. Worried, he asks—has anything happened to the children. Here the wife loses her temper—his air of innocence is too much for her. Doesn't he realize what it has meant to her and the children—how she was tortured this evening while waiting for him? Doesn't he appreciate what the family gathering means to her after a hard day's work at housekeeping to make the family's life happy?

Her husband expresses his unpleasant surprise at this outburst—at his lack of consideration of her and the children, at his failure to realize how the long evening affected them. But, he asks, *where* was he? Hasn't he been spending the evening in the interest of his family? Was he looking for pleasure for himself? As a member of the executive board of his local union, he is subject to call at any time to attend a special meeting. Wasn't he as disappointed as his wife that he couldn't have dinner at home with her and the children? But if an emergency arose in his local, and he was called on to forego his pleasure, he did it. His wife must know that the family's well-being depends upon the strength of the union. He had to go.

Oh, says she, he is always giving his first attention to the union and little consideration to her and the children. Is the union more important to him than their family life? How long, she wonders, will she be the victim of her husband's activities in the union. She can't understand why he is so anxious to be active. She thinks that he is doing enough for his union by paying his dues and meeting other financial obligations. She can't understand why the officers who are paid don't do all these jobs.

After a few attempts to explain, the husband waves his hands helplessly and attributes her ignorance to "womanhood"—"a woman is only a woman". A woman's desire, he feels is to put the home above everything else, forgetting that the husband must make that happy home possible, a possibility which depends upon his earning capacity and his leisure. He knows that an improvement in either of these can be achieved only through the strength of the trade union movement of which he, as a wage earner is a member and that, consequently, any time he gives to his union is very valuable to him.

CARTOON OF THE MONTH



Art Young in "Life"

Foreman of Jury (in Indiana): "Now, Gentlemen, this is the question for the members of this jury to decide—is this prisoner guilty or is he a Klansman?"

II. WHERE TROUBLES BEGIN

It is at this point that the difficulties between husband and wife arise. He, actively engaged in the organization, has learned the importance of the union, and knows that the movement has made it possible for him to get a larger return of what he has produced and shorter hours and thus enabled him to give more attention to his family. He knows that the movement has made it possible for him to develop his innate capacity for leadership, and has strengthened in him an altruistic outlook on life. He has learned the place his trade union movement has given him in our social structure as a worker and a citizen. His outlook on life has been broadened.

But what has been done to keep his wife and all other married women enlightened on these subjects? Often when a young man and young woman marry, the wife is more advanced—the husband feels it an honor to have her marry him. Several years of married life elapse and a few children come, the woman occupied all the while with her family affairs—with "domestic science", the man at the same time, as in the case above described, being active in his union. He has now become the "superior intellect". He has developed and she remained backward. When she makes some suggestions in his affairs, he says good-naturedly—"Oh, well, what do you, a woman, a housewife, know about all these things?" The development is a perfectly natural one—but it comes as a great shock to her that she is not up to date in her ideas.

No matter what the well paid masculine writers on the woman question may say, those of us who know women do not doubt for a moment that they can respond to ideals and are ready to make sacrifices for them. But how can we enlighten the housewife, wife of a trade unionist about the labor movement to arouse her enthusiasm in it? Women are never accused of lack of curiosity. The faculty might be utilized in the most constructive and enlightening manner. But where to get a teacher?

Does the husband willingly share his trade union experiences with his wife? Seldom. How many times have we heard a wife trying to get information from her husband about his trade union activities, about the problems which he must solve only to be told—sometimes good-naturedly, sometimes impatiently—"Oh, I'm always busy with trade union problems. I don't want to take them into my home. I want to forget about them for a while. Let's talk about something else."

It's quite natural—all of us want our minds turned away from our daily problems. But the good husband does not realize that while he, occupied with trade union problems most of the time, wants leave of them when he is home, his wife has had none of them. She doesn't know much about the labor movement and yet is eager to share his problems with her husband, instinctively feeling it would bring her closer to him.

What is to be done? Here is a problem! Is there no way of enlightening the women on the trade union movement without waiting for their husbands to do the teaching? We know from experience that husband and wife will gladly discuss subjects on which they are both equally enlightened, and willingly accept each other's advice. But each is reluctant to teach the other.

The solution for this problem is not easy to find, but not impossible. It requires careful consideration which we will attempt to give it in another article. In that consideration the suggestions of others would be valuable.

We may suggest in the meantime, however, that the application of domestic science and time saving devices will relieve wives of much of the drudgery of their work and so free them for such enlightenment. The problem must then be approached from a psychological and an economic point of view, in the light of present day conditions and with a confidence that women are susceptible of enlightenment and that the enthusiasm they display for many other causes can be won for the labor movement.

GENTLEMEN PREFER BONDS

Also Including: "If I Was Queen"

By BILL BROWN, Boomer

YOU gotta admit it. The path of popularity, or whatever you call it, is by committing murder, nowadays. Or being suspected of it, anyway.

Some of these here nice winter days, you will wake up and read this advertisement in your favorite magazine, right alongside Blisterine and the Skin you love to Scratch:

BE POPULAR—COMMIT CRIME

Correspondence Lessons in Helpful Homicide

How to Get Suspected, though Acquitted

Sure Subway to Social Success

Automatics Furnished

on Request

Little Legal

Lessons, Extra

That'll beat the book of etiquette, all hollow. The guy or moll that takes that there course won't have to worry about whether to speak first, or how to fix your napkin at the table, or when you use a spoon or a fork or knife (in the case of Boston beans, and et cetera.) You'll just step into the parlor or saloon or whatever you call it, with a good murder record, and be a social lion.

You take Mrs. Hall's picture. Right here it is in front of me, for the 2738th time. How many of them there rich buds of the Junior League must be green with envy? You can only get your picture once or twice by giving a bawl or dance for the poor. While here, Mrs. Hall is in morning, noon and night. It's just like medicine: you take it at every meal, and then, again, before retiring.

"The Prisoner's Song" is becoming the national anthem. Whenever you don't know how to play the piano real good, you just play that, and all the folks will break into song and tears. They're even making the Prohibition cafe places into jails, like; and one of them was pinched the other night in Kansas City, and all the waiters was in prison stripes. They didn't have to change clothes at all, to go to their cell. Which was very convenient, all around, as everybody said.

The difference between a gentleman and a crook is so great, that they just look and act like twin brothers. Charlie Schwab and Gerald Chapman musta had a lotta admiration for each other.

Naturally, it's all to the good, if you can make the business a paying as well as a popularizing proposition. Not only a lot of pictures in the papers, but free feeds, free train rides, a thousand dollars a minute for a little "blah, blah" on the radio—that's getting crime down to a fine point. Charlie saw that right off, too. If he admires Chapman, he just dotes on this here Marie of Roumania.

Every other shop girl was saying to herself, kind of wistful-like: "If I was Queen! Ah, dear daily tabloid, if I was Queen!" (Of course, Sandy Hook butts in and says, it oughta be: "If I were Queen!" But the tabloid editors or readers don't know nothing about that.)

Marie does all her crime, strictly legal. Which is the right way, you understand. We criminals gotta be strong for the law, 'cause it's the best source of crime. All she does, over there in Roumania, is cry out: "Faithful soldier man, take 'em out and shoot 'em." She's strong for the soldiers, in more ways than one. She's had a lotta fun with them. That's why they holler "Cotzofanesti" at her; that being the town she had some of the fun in.

All right, we're agreed. Crime, if you know how to pull it, is a good thing. Gold-digging is another. Marie is a P. D. G. in both. It's an art, I'm telling you, an art.

Here lately we've all been reading a book what makes us laugh, called "Gentlemen Prefer Blondes". It was written by a smart young lady, Miss Anita Loos, and published by a right smart publisher, Boni and Liveright. It's all about gold-digging. And you're almost moved to tears—actual drops of glycerine—when you see how nice the lady in the piece debates whether she'll sue the fall-guy for breach of promise or marry him for his dough. It keeps you all "suspended"—isn't that the word?—and you're glad to learn that she finally makes up her mind to marry the man, because the dough will be more regular that way.

If I know anything—and I'm not saying I do—Gentlemen don't only prefer Blondes; they also prefer Bonds. They're not much on stocks these days. They put the workers in the stocks. They're awful generous to the poor workingman, nowadays; just let him buy and buy these here stocks, and let him pay and pay for them. But the bonds, they keep unto themselves, as the preacher said on last Sunday. The favorite college yell in the college of hard knocks is getting to be: "Buy more stocks. Buy more stocks. Never be home to the installment man's knocks."

Which is a darn clever game. It's got blue-skying beat a mile. And you've gotta hand it to them there gentlemen, what do it strictly legal. They're the great forces of Law and Order in the land. And they're the guys what knows a friend when they sees one. Just look what they did for "Oui, Oui, Marie". They're going to take all her Roumanian bonds, backed up by good old U. S. A. guns.

It's the best game of back-scratching we've seen, since Fall and Doheny pulled off Teapot Dome.

THOUGHT FOR 1927
IF IN WAR—WHY NOT IN PEACE?



During the Great War a form of Cooperative Production was forced upon all big manufacturing concerns. It was very lame. It was a poor excuse for what should have been. But it was a different condition from the situation confronting us as we enter this eighth year of the close of the "War for Democracy". One of the resolves of the Workers in 1927 should be: To further, as rapidly as possible the Real Cooperative Ownership and Control of Industry. Not by the fake devices of the big corporations, who today give lip service to the ideal of "Cooperation" and "Industrial Democracy", but by steps toward real workers control of the industrial system.

The Opposition's "Why"

How Dissenters Get That Way

By A. J. MUSTE

A STUDENT'S VIEW

Herein Brother Muste, as he says, presents a student's view of the situation which dissenters in all their various forms and shades present to the Movement. It is a carefully worded statement by one who can look at the Movement from every angle. Not only for the present active member, but for the active member of the future, its value is more than apparent. May it bear good results for a united and victorious Movement!

LAST month I wrote an article for LABOR AGE in which I ventured to put forth some suggestions as to how unions should deal with dissenters, lefts, the opposition. In an unguarded moment I closed with the remark that this was only half the story, the other half being on how the opposition ought to deal with the union. The editor promptly came back and dared me to write the other half. So here it is. May I remark, "by the way", that neither in this month's article nor in last month's am I trying to put myself in the official's or the dissenter's place and telling them what they ought to do in this or that concrete situation: I am as a student analyzing certain features that recur in factional fights in unions and trying to state what seems to me their general meaning. Everybody is left to make or decline to make his own application.

Probably no student of society would dispute the assertion that no organization or movement can live and function effectively without an opposition, without constructive but drastic criticism from within. Furthermore, oppositions, minorities, left wing groups, have often been the bearers of progress. In organizations and movements of all sorts situations have repeatedly arisen, as all readily enough admit when the smoke of battle has rolled away and something like an objective appraisal becomes possible, where the only salvation lay in "a few good funerals," literally or figuratively, that is, in scrapping the worn-out machine, putting in a new leadership, adopting radically new tactics. The heroes mankind now worships were nearly all in their lifetime leaders of such opposition movements, and the same misunderstanding, vilification and persecution were meted out to them as are meted out to minorities today. The opposition always works hard, fights heroically, sacrifices enormously, and is much oftener right than—well, than the powers that be can possibly foretell.

On the other hand, minorities are always more cocksure than the facts warrant and never quite so noble as they themselves think.

A Rival Group

While it is true that crises create opposition, rather than being created by them, the opposition, it is of the utmost importance to bear in mind, is not really the

rank and file, but a rival group of leaders or would-be leaders. Now very early it becomes apparent to the student that some of the "evils" about which the opposition waxed most eloquent have not nearly so much bearing on the outbreak of internal trouble as they have us believe. There is always, for example, in connection with trade union strife a tremendous amount of talk about grafting labor officials getting rich out of their jobs. There are such officials of course. It is not unlikely that in any internal fight of considerable magnitude a few officials might be found whose practices have been a bit loose. But a fairly intimate and extensive acquaintance with internal trade union politics makes me confident in the assertion that there is no indication whatever that this element of graft is of fundamental importance in producing internal strife, revolts of the rank and file, etc. Has anyone any evidence that in the unions where the bitter and ruinous fights do not take place there is more honesty among the officials? Is it apparent that the Brindells and Umbrella Mikes have more internal fights on their hands than scrupulously honest officials? From the evidence ready to hand one might be able indeed to plot curves showing that as graft increases internal peace also increases but it would be a correlation on paper only.

Exactly the same holds true of the related charge about officials "selling out" to the boss. Officials in any union necessarily proceed as a rule on the basis of maintaining tolerable conditions for at least the majority of employers in an industry, just as they must get results for their own members; and there are of course times when they become over-solicitous about making it possible for the boss to continue in business. But if it were advisable to mention names it would not be difficult to mention off-hand a dozen trade union officials who would generally be regarded as too easy on the employer who have little or no internal conflict on their hands, and another dozen generally regarded as above approach in this respect who have desperate internal situations on their hands.

Deliberate selling out to the boss for a personal consideration may or may not exist in a given situation. But whether it does or does not, in ninety-nine cases out of a hundred it is of no importance for our present study. The talk about it is "campaign bunk".

The Cry for "Democratization"

Another charge almost always advanced is that the union's constitution and its officials are autocratic and that the voice of the "peopul" does not get heard or obeyed. Some demand for democratization of the constitution, equal representation for small locals, etc., is always contained in the program of the opposition. If the opposition wins, some of these democratic measures are put into effect. In a few months or years the opposi-

tion, now installed in power, uses these same democratic provisions in an autocratic manner; there is another internal battle and the cry of democracy is again raised. For immediate purposes the cry of democracy and decentralization is useful; you can easily get the mass to support such a program and it is an effective instrument for breaking down the machine that is in power, the more so as it enables you to conceal from others and yourself your own purpose to take power. Once a new group is in power oligarchic and centralizing tendencies surely reappear so that something may "get done". One of the decidedly humorous aspects of the present conflict in several unions is furnished by the heart-rending appeals on behalf of the ordinary member by elements whose fundamental and often announced political tactic is dictatorship. We have an extremely interesting sidelight also on group psychology in the fact that the masses nevertheless frequently follow the advocates of dictatorship, partly no doubt because they despair, rightly or wrongly, of getting results in the way of employment, higher wages, etc., from the group in power, but partly also because human beings will as a matter of fact feel kindly disposed toward those who ask their support and flatter them, however interested their motives, and the opposition of course realizes that it can unseat the leaders only with the help of the rank and file.

To proceed to one or two other considerations, if the administration in these controversial situations tends to err by overestimating the number and extent of the difficulties in the way of aggressive action, the lefts tend to underestimate the obstacles. As human nature and its institutions are at present constituted, blindness to difficulties and recklessness about consequences have on occasion survival value. If there were not some people willing to take a long chance nothing would be done in certain crises. Blindness and recklessness are not however saving virtues, as the opposition sometimes finds to its cost when it is in the saddle and must produce practical results. Every man will have his own opinion on this point, based much less on dispassionate observation and much more on temperamental bias or party affiliation than he thinks—my own opinion is that in a number of cases in recent years in view of all the elements in the situation, particularly the stage of our economic development and the psychology of the majority of American workers, the lefts have asked and sought the impossible. Now a critical and importunate opposition in a union in times of prosperity is like a spur to a racing horse, not too pleasant but productive of great results. The same sort of an opposition in times of depression is like spurs driven into the flanks of a horse tied to the post, cruel and not calculated to make a better runner out of the horse when he is set free. And the American movement, what with open shop drives, business depression and the like, has been for several years after 1920 in the position of a horse tied to the post.

Fine Points of Doctrine

Again, controversies are often needlessly complicated and embittered by the fact that the opposition usually espouses some radical philosophy or creed and insists

that all who are to have a chance to function in the union shall profess the same creed, worship in the same church, render homage to the same hierarchy. Controversy rages about fine points of doctrine which have little or no relevance to the industrial issues that are the important concern of the union. At least in some cases these philosophies have been European importations congenial to the countries from which our immigrant groups have come and perhaps fitted to the needs of those countries but not so congenial to American tradition and psychology nor so applicable to American needs. The stress on such philosophies has accordingly made the approach to American workers more difficult and has given to reactionaries in the labor movement as well as to foes without a handle for attack upon insurgent groups of which advantage both fair and unfair has been taken.

In this same connection mention should be made of general social or political issues which are often incorporated in the program of an insurgent group though they do not bear in any but a very remote fashion upon the legitimate trade union issues that are in controversy. Thus amalgamation of craft into industrial unions, recognition of Soviet Russia and affiliation of the A. F. of L. to the Red International of Labor Unions will all figure in the program of a group though the first is on an entirely different footing from the other two as a living, pressing issue for the American trade union movement. Likewise a strictly trade union issue like amalgamation may figure about equally in the program for the needle trades, the metal industry and the railroad shop crafts, for example, though it is certainly not of equally pressing significance in all three cases. As is obvious to the social psychologist we have here again frequently not objective and critical efforts to deal with concrete situations but the need of a group to have rallying cries and fine sounding aims in order to rouse its own emotions and to keep itself sharply distinguished in its own eyes and that of the rank and file from the rival group.

Outside Control

Mention of the introduction of more or less irrelevant political or social issues into trade union disputes leads naturally to a reference to the most serious error perpetrated by the opposition in recent controversies in this country. To the Communist the party is the essential, the primary instrument for bringing about the revolution. To him, therefore, it seems natural and right that party groups or groups indirectly controlled by the party should guide trade union policy. We will not pause to argue here as to whether the Communist is society's best friend or worst enemy in seeking to advance the revolution; nor even to argue as to whether theoretically and in the long run the economic wing or the political wing of the labor movement is basic. We shall even admit for the sake of argument that in a certain kind of crisis, when for example reactionary forces in a country are attempting a bloody counter-revolution intended to deprive the workers of all the hard won gains of the labor movement, a compact, centralized and vigorous party may be absolutely indispensable for leadership of the workers. But we may put it down as "an elementary truth of social psychology" that ordinarily

no social group of any kind will submit to acting as a mere puppet in the hands of an outside group, and if it does so for any length of time it will lose all its vitality. An organization may of course be tricked into being manipulated by another organization temporarily, but this cannot last for long, and then it must either fight for its own independent life, for self-determination, or it must admit that it has no vitality and morale, and lie down to die peacefully. Now in Russia the Communist sees this; and however active and vocal the opposition within the party is permitted to be, the most drastic action is taken against the attempt to form factions or "fractions", against, namely, any attempt of a group to meet outside the party, make decisions, and then as a group fight to enforce the decisions on the inside. But what is good social psychology in Russia is equally good in America. It is impossible for any particular American union or for the American trade union movement as a whole to exist, to function as a movement, as a going concern, if the real decisions are made by a group having a separate existence, if for any length of time the apparent leaders are mere figure heads and the real leaders somewhere behind the scenes pulling the strings, yet not on the inside so that they can be effectively disciplined. If the movement fights against this sort of thing, it is a sign of its vitality—at least so any student would regard it in the case of any other group. If the trade union movement were to become merely the tail to a political kite there would soon be no trade union movement—at least so any student would hold in a comparable situation. Furthermore, so long as the trade union movement is exposed to this danger, progressive activities within the movement are subject to a terrific handicap. And all this is not to say that a political movement may not have its own place.

Unethical Practices?

Finally, a word about the methods employed in factional combats. Those who have been in touch with unions when they are passing through such crises must have been struck with the fact that each side always bitterly complains about the unethical practices, the unfairness, the unscrupulousness of the other. There is always a tremendous amount of outraged sentiment manifested in the complaint, deep passion, a sense of having been stabbed in the back in the dark by one's dearest friend. Now why such passionate complaints if people really admire "hardness" and believe that "anything goes"? Is this merely campaign bunk consciously intended to deceive? The circumstances under which such complaints are made and the intense feeling back of them rule out that supposition. Is it merely that people are enraged because the other side fights hard and threatens to defeat them? Doubtless this is a factor of some importance but not we believe the only one.

We shall understand what is really happening if we recall what Stanley Hall and others pointed out, namely that the morals of a group are not something otherworldly and superfluous but the very definite practical thing we have in mind when we talk about "morale". A

group holds together and functions because inside the group certain attitudes and rules are observed and enforced; the members feel kindly toward each other, respect each other, play fair. When this condition no longer holds, when morale is broken up, then the group is falling apart; and so essentially social are human beings that the worst thing that can happen to them is that some important group in which they have functioned should fall apart; the members of such a disintegrating group are dismayed and hurt far more than they consciously understand. Now this is what is happening to union members in one of these bitter factional disputes; moral scruples, the rules of the game are no longer observed, the morale is broken; this means that the union is to just that extent falling apart (it does not matter now which is cause here and which is effect); the members are hurt because ties that meant even more to them than they realized are being snapped; they are subconsciously afraid of the evils that may overcome them because the group to which they looked for protection against the enemy is now helpless. Each member is secretly, unconsciously accusing himself and by a well known psychological process taken out on others his own sense of guilt and dismay and frustration.

Whether, therefore, moral rules are to obtain in the union is a question of the utmost practical importance. If an organization is to hold together, not to be seriously weakened in the face of the enemy, the rules of the game must be observed. For the sake of argument it may be admitted that situations may arise where this is no longer possible but then we must understand precisely what has happened. In the strict sense of the term war has been declared. There is no longer one power-group. There are two. As between two such groups there are never any rules. The morale of each group now depends precisely upon not having any moral relations, any common morale with the other group. Under the circumstances it is quite silly to complain if one is hit below the belt or stabbed in the back.

We may close then with "a few words of application," after the manner of the old-fashioned exhorter. It takes two to make a quarrel. A hard-boiled trade union machine may, for example, hold on to power after its usefulness is at an end and employ unfair means in doing so, or vice versa, a group of "reds" in a union may be grasping for power under cover of advocating more progressive policies and use unfair means in doing so. In view of what we have said it behooves the offended party in either case to pause to consider whether it is worthwhile to meet violence with violence, deceit with deceit—in other words to permit a declaration of war. It may be the thing to do. But it may not. The resultant loss may be greater than the gain. What advantage will the common enemy gain from our divisions? What losses will the rank and file whom all profess to serve be forced to endure? All kinds of powerful, indecent and childish urges lurk below the surface of consciousness in us all. They find release in a cracking good fight. The fight is not always on that account justifiable or necessary.

"Educating" the Workers

The Anti-Union Campaign in the Schools

By ABRAHAM LEFKOWITZ

QUALIFIED TO SPEAK

No one is better able to speak of the invasion of the schools by anti-union forces than Dr. Lefkowitz. At the present moment, his case is an outstanding example of the un-American and vicious control of our school system by the enemies of decency. Leading the lists for promotion in the New York system, he has been arbitrarily refused such promotion because of his union activities. Before it is over, we foretell, Dr. Lefkowitz will receive his position, and the reactionary school board be popularly disciplined.—Editor.

THE Open-Shoppers of America are making hay while the sun shines. They are fighting organized labor not only by means of injunctions, yellow-dog contracts, labor spies, company unions, the domination of political parties but also by "educating" the workers to appreciate the glories of the new benevolent feudalism known as the "American Plan". Hence the newly awakened interest on the part of the Open Shoppers in labor education and in the selection of "patriotic" teachers who have a proper "professional attitude" toward their job.

The American Plan-Open Shop Conference, composed of un-American reactionary employers, seems to have found the key to the problem of keeping the workers ignorant enough to be satisfied with their lot while the corporations which employ them declare unheard of stock dividends of accumulated profits undreamed of prior to the outbreak of the World War. Their formula can be read in an article by Robert W. Dunn in the "Labor Age" of December 1926. It is as follows: "Industrial associations must accept the responsibility of seeing to it that the teachers have the right attitude of mind toward industrial questions. *The antecedents of teachers and supervisors should be known.*"

Just what does this mean? If the meaning is in doubt, let me quote a statement made by Roger Babson, one of the most intelligent prophets and spokesman of Big Business who exultingly exclaimed after the World War: "The war taught us the power of propaganda. Now when we have anything to sell to the American people we know how to sell it. We have the schools, the pulpit and the press." (To this trinity may soon be added the radio). Though this statement is an exaggerated hope, unless organized labor wakes up, it will become a reality.

Making the Schools Safe

The Open Shoppers are determined to make the schools of the country safe for Open-Shop propaganda. To insure this, they are instructing or advising the employers within their organization to induce the boards of education they control to hire only teachers *favorable*

to the open-shop idea and whose antecedents are such as to make the triumph of open shop propaganda certain. Never have intellectual freedom and the ideals of labor been in greater danger. Should the campaign of the Open Shoppers succeed, it will mean that the mind of the American youth will be so poisoned, that unionists who have made untold sacrifices to actualize the broad social idealism which animates the labor movement will find, when confronted with a grave industrial crisis, not only that the mind of the public has been poisoned against them, but also that their own children have been alienated by teachers who have "the right attitude of mind" and the proper "antecedents". Is the threat of the Open-Shoppers an idle one?

When the teachers of San Jose, California, almost driven to desperation by the reduced purchasing power of their dollar, decided to unionize to secure economic justice from a lethargic public, what did the Commercial Federation of California, the Open-Shoppers of the coast, do? They inserted a two column advertisement in the SAN JOSE HERALD stating that they desired to safeguard the schools by ensuring not only the selection of "patriotic" teachers but teachers who would not discuss "industrial and political" questions. They threatened with dismissal all teachers who dared unionize or discuss industrial questions. San Jose is now safe for the Open-Shoppers.

Teachers Must Be Saved

What will be labor's answer to this grave menace? Will labor meet this important issue before it is too late? Or, will it temporarize on the theory it has more pressing problems to solve? Or perchance it will assume an ostrich-like attitude and fail to see the problem? If labor desires to free the mind of America's youth from propaganda, if labor desires to guarantee to the youth of America an opportunity to grapple with fundamental industrial, political and social problems with untrammelled minds, if labor wants education to deal with facts, then the teachers must be saved from the propaganda launched by the American Plan-Open Shop Conference. How can this be done?

The teachers of America must have the viewpoint of labor presented to them. Better still, a strong united effort should be made to unionize teachers so as to bring them into direct and intimate contact with labor—its problems, its hopes and its aspirations. Such an alliance will not only insure to the youth of America the presentation of truth in place of propaganda, but it will also enable labor to meet with a sympathetic response instead of a closed mind or a hostile attitude. It will help teachers not only by inspiring them with labor's social idealism its great vision of human solidarity and brotherhood, but also by bringing them into close touch with



THE MAN OF LETTERS and THE MAN OF FIGURES.

realities and with the movement, which holds out a promise for a solution of our industrial problems more in harmony with the theory of brotherhood which underlies all of labor's struggles.

Anti-Union Boards of Education

The American Federation of Teachers, which is trying to unionize the teachers of America, faces not only the united opposition of the Open Shoppers but of their representatives on boards of education. It also suffers from a lack of an intelligent appreciation on the part of labor of the strategic position teachers still hold. This lack of appreciation is largely due to labor's lack of knowledge of the need for aiding the unionized teachers in their efforts at unionization. Hence the struggle of the American Federation of Teachers against odds which should daunt stouter hearts than theirs. While the present leadership of the American Federation of Labor is fortunately sympathetic, and friendly, this sympathy has not (because of the poor state of labor's finances), manifested itself in more than moral support. Hence the apathy

in the movement for teacher unionization at a time when the Open-Shoppers are making every effort to instill into the teachers "the right attitude of mind."

Should the Open Shoppers continue making rapid strides in their campaign, the outlook for non-propagandist education and for intellectual freedom are dark indeed. If labor expects to combat successfully the menace of aggressive, anti-social capitalism which is dominated by an industrial Bourbonism, then it must make its educational assault upon its enemy all along the line. This means a more effective voluntary industrial organization, a more intelligent appreciation of the value and the necessity for independent political action, a more thorough unionization of teachers, a more active local support of labor education (the A. F. of L. program in this respect is admirable) a greater impetus to labor colleges, a wider extension of cooperative activity based upon the principles of the Rochdale Plan, and a centralized and expertly managed research publicity bureau. Only through a comprehensive program can labor build an enduring order animated by the service ideal.

The Drama of American History

A New Series of "Brookwood Pages"

By ARTHUR W. CALHOUN

II. Clinching a Claim

IT TOOK only a hundred and fifty years of colonial exploitation to create in America a native ruling class and a native system of exploitation capable of standing alone; so that the English colonies on the Atlantic seaboard were ready to be a nation. That's all it takes to make a nation: a perfected system of plundering the masses, and an exploiting class capable of maintaining and working the system. So far as the colonies were concerned, they had made good in these respects. By 1776 the land speculators, the slave drivers, the hard-fisted employers, the smugglers, and the professional politicians that answered their call stood at the head of a relentless ruling class sufficiently well-knit and well-grounded to be ready for separation from Great Britain.

If these interests could have engineered the split without involving the spirit of revolution or conjuring up the ideals of Rights and Freedom, you may be sure they would have done it. In fact, they might at first have been willing to settle accounts by being recognized as junior partners in the British imperial scheme. Unfortunately for the patriots of Cent per Cent, however, the British government did not readily yield, even when the complaints of the American business interests were backed up vigorously by the progressive business interests in Britain. It was up to the budding capitalist interests of America to head a real war for the advanced business interests of Englishmen. It would not do to let a pig-headed king backed by a lingering aristocracy and an old-fashioned mercantile group balk the ambitions of aspiring commercial, industrial and speculative interests as the laws interfering with economic life seemed to do.

But for a war, soldiers are needed! On whom should the call be made? Perhaps the British liberals ought to have furnished a revolutionary army on the other side of the water; but they were grand and dignified enough to take it out in talk, that may have hindered recruiting for the king's forces, and certainly crippled the enthusiasm for the subjection of America, but yet did not man any ranks. There was only one source of soldiers. The project against King George would have to be made to look good to the thousands of poor farmers, wage-workers and bond slaves who were already feeding and enriching the upstart American master class and might further be induced to bleed for them.

Consequently, it was in order to circulate in the colonies a lot of fine talk about rights and liberties, and opportunities. The American workers had been chained and driven, whipped and branded, starved and frozen in debtors' prisons, squeezed to gild their betters' chariot wheels and dye their robes; but they still had enough

vitality left to serve as cannon fodder, if they could be dragooned into service. So it was a good stunt to get Thomas Jefferson to draft the Declaration of Independence. To be sure, the big guys blue-pencilled the best parts of it. They could not stand his talk about the horrors of the slave trade, which a bloody king had foisted on his innocent children in America. That was too much like a back-handed slap at the morals of the best Americans. Nor could they stand for the assertion that everyone had the right to acquire and enjoy property. It was, indeed a chastened document that finally was given to the world. Still it rang out the challenge for "life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness." It was alright to let the masses pursue happiness, provided you had everything cinched so that they were sure not to overtake her.

At that, the Declaration was no more than an orator's flourish—a bit of publicity material in a promotion game. It never has amounted to any more than that. Our courts give validity to musty decisions and moldy documents uttered centuries ago in England by clever crooks and rusty rogues. Such a mess constitutes the "common law" as it comes to bear against the rising claims of Labor; but no American court would give any effect to the Declaration of Independence. It is a museum curio in the estimation of the judges, and they ought to know. Its glowing phrases about rights and opportunities can be filed away with the circulars of the Florida boom and the Mexican rubber plantation bubble. That's the law of it.

Washington despised his troops. When congress passed a law limiting the number of strokes used in flogging a man to one hundred, the Father of His Country was incensed. He thought five hundred none too many to lay on the backs of the chattels in uniform. They could sweat and starve and freeze and die, while a sufficient number of their betters were left back home making money and foreclosing mortgages on the little properties of the men at the front. When the smoke finally lifted, the ragged soldiers might go home to die in debtors' prisons or to have a price set on their heads when they rose in feeble protests against victimization, as they did in more than one state.

So the "Revolution" was fought and won; and what kind of revolution was it? Guizot, the great capitalist politician and historian of mid-nineteenth century France, sums it up thus:—"The social order was no more disturbed than the political. No class struggle; no violent alteration of equilibrium. . . . The rich and important families were, in general, the most firmly resolved for the conquest of independence and the foundation of the new regime. It was under their direction that the people moved and the outcome took place." Thus Mr. Guizot summed up the import of the whole. Rampant democracy,

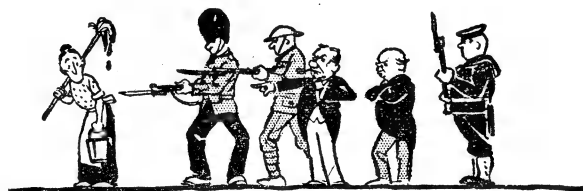
he said, was held in check by the Christian faith, the political traditions, and the law-abiding habits of the population. Good news surely for the capitalist fraternity for whom brother Guizot wrote!

But the end was not yet. Mutterings of rebellion in the newly independent states, flashes of open revolt here and there, warned the victorious masters of America that they must take pains to consolidate the foundations of their power. The old league formed during the war had too weak a constitution to knit the economic life of the thirteen states into one or to provide a government strong enough to police the privileges of the upper crust. Accordingly a bunch of men of property called a commercial conference and launched a campaign for a revision of the "Articles of Confederation." A compliant congress sanctioned the move and authorized a convention to amend the articles.

Here the drama approaches a peak. The convention met in secret session, under military guard. It was composed almost entirely of stalwart representatives of the property interests. The utmost of contempt for the masses was freely expressed, and in the final show-down, Benjamin Franklin was the only member to voice generously the claims of the common people. He was a lone voice and his utterance was of no avail. A constitution was drawn to serve the claims of the property interests and to make it as hard as possible for democracy to lift its head in America. Washington's "rich, well-born, and noble" had scored another victory.

You may be puzzled at one thing, namely the difficulty of finding in the U. S. constitution the particular points at which capitalist property is entrenched. The document is so general and non-committal that it might even serve (clumsily perhaps) as the constitution of a communist state. That is because the "fathers" were too wise to show their hand. They relied on the secrecy of their proceedings to mask their real game, and it would not do to spread it to the world in the sections of the constitution itself. Nor was it necessary to do so. If the shrewdly concocted government could once be set up under their control, they relied on their ability to perpetuate their power. They did not, in any event, regard the constitution as actually the supreme law of the land. It was merely an instrument for the carrying out of the higher law that overshadowed it and was taken for granted,—namely the principle of the inherent sanctity of property and its precedence over elemental human rights. Only by recognition of this fact can the workings of the U. S. constitution as construed by the courts be understood.

When it came to putting the new constitution over, the job was none too simple. True, hardly anybody had the right to vote, but among the 120,000 or so possible voters (out of a population of about four million) there were plenty of farmers, with mortgages or other grievances against the great ones, and it would never do to take a popular vote, even though the wise men of the convention came before the the public with honeyed phrases the exact opposite of what they had said in secret



THOSE GALLANT TORIES!

The Tories of 1776 are seen again, in the Tories of Britain today. In the name of Economy, they are attacking Labor and the schools. As Flambo puts it in the New Leader, they are even warring on scrub-women!

session. One would have thought to listen to the propaganda that Hamilton and Madison had drunk in democracy with their mothers' milk. If the masses had had a chance to read the speeches that these "friends of the people" had made behind closed doors, there might well have been a real revolution.

Those speeches, however, were safely locked up in Madison's strong box, where he had put them after he wrote them up from private notes taken against the orders of the convention. They did not see the light for fifty years; so there was no clear evidence that the opponents of the constitution could get their hands on. Even so, the general distrust of the "successful men" of the day, the general hatred of the poor against the rich, came near to thwarting the plans of the conspirators for a strong central government in the hands of safe men. Only with the greatest difficulty and by promises of speedy amendments to specify a few shadows of rights, coupled with the shrewdest political manipulation and jugglery was it possible to get the constitution ratified in enough states to put it into effect.

Even then, it could have no pretences of being a legally adopted document. The old constitution, the Articles of Confederation, held itself out to be a permanent affair unamendable without the consent of all the states. The makers of the new constitution made no pretences of observing the legal forms. They deliberately, and with no legal authorization, scrapped the old constitution and provided for the adoption of the new by a totally illegal method of their own devising. Our good friends, the hundred per centers, ought to be made to realize that the constitution they worship was made by an outlaw gang and was put into effect in deliberate violation of fundamental law. Whatever claims it may have to respect, they certainly do not consist of legal sanction.

But they were wise men who made it. They had sense enough not to worry about scruples of legality. They knew that there are more important things than to be law-abiding and constitutional. They had the courage to be magnificent outlaws and write a charter for their capitalist state. Some day another band of outlaws will write another constitution—this time for a workers' commonwealth in America. Revolution and illegality are the traditional American methods.

HOW TO OBTAIN LOCAL PUBLICITY

3. The Publicity Representative

EVERYBODY'S job is nobody's job. We all know that, without argument.

If publicity is handled on a hit or miss basis, it will get hit or miss treatment from the local press. Someone must make it his business to see that publicity is obtained, regularly and in an effective way.

The central body, in any community, can become one of the most powerful aids of the entire Movement, if it comes to understand what it can do in this untrodden field. Let its executive board look over the men or women likely to fit in, in such a capacity. Let them appoint such a person, and then back him or her up to the limit.

That means that the person appointed must have the sources of information with which to work. These, happily, are largely at hand. LABOR AGE stands ready to cooperate in every way possible, in securing information on short notice and in referring the representative to other sources of research, when the occasion for such further need may arise.

The publicity representative, as we have said, must not merely know how to get out a news release. He or she must also understand something about MAKING publicity. We are completely out-classed in that sphere at present by the high-pressure go-getting professionals of our enemies. But we have one advantage: that our stuff can be made much more vivid than theirs.

The publicity man or woman must get onto the hang of seizing news, when it is "hot". When a dispatch over the A. P. comes from Seattle, as it did last month, stating that professors and bricklayers are getting about the same wages up in that section, the person on the job must immediately have someone answer that. The idea of the dispatch, of course, was to knock the bricklayers. We can use it to our advantage, and make a boomerang of it, however, by showing: That college professors ought to organize, and thus get more remuneration, and that, even as it is, bricklayers are underpaid—their wages not yet coming up to their increased production over the years.

Again: When the General Motors Corporation announces, as it has just done rather dramatically, that it is to present \$100,000,000 in group insurance to its employes, we ought to be ready (particularly in General Motors towns) to shoot that full of holes. We can do it: By showing that the men pay heavily toward the insurance, and then, further, by showing that this is a poor substitute for the wage increase which the men ought to be getting. We can use the WALL STREET JOURNAL'S figures on the immense profits of the General Motors, and give the facts on the inadequate wages paid. That will "spike" this great announcement.

HANDS OFF MEXICO!

Shall Blood Be Shed Because of Oil?

LOOK you, off to the South there, war clouds are gathering. This month of January will see strange things in Mexico: oil lands and other property being snatched from the hands of foreigners, because of their failure to put themselves under the sole protection of Mexico itself.

For the sake of the Dohenys, Rockefellers and other gentlemen of that stripe, our government waxes indignant. These brigands rob us at home, and we say naught to them. When they go abroad, we hasten to protect them.

Let this thing be clear: Our government stated quite definitely that it was not interested in the question of "religious freedom" in the land below the Rio Grande. It would not interfere on that score; that was the business of Mexico alone. On the question of Oil, we have other feelings. Bayonets may bristle and cannon spout — for Dollar Diplomacy. "Ideals" are nothing; property rights are all.

This war, if it comes, will be an Oil War. Nothing else. Mr. Kellogg grows shrill in his shouting, merely for Oil. Let blockhead Babbitts seek to make the issue something else, as they may. Let them try to make "Democracy" an issue, or "Bolshevism" the foe. It will be a lie. Long ago, in 1840, one Abraham Lincoln, as a representative, opposed bitterly the then impending war with Mexico. He pronounced it to be just what it was: an imperialist venture on the part of the Slave Power, then controlling this country. Today we have an Oil venture, and one Raymond G. Carroll in the reactionary NEW YORK EVENING POST has even said that the Oil Barons propose to fight Mexico with their own armed guards, if the U. S. A. does not interfere in their behalf.

With Lincoln, we say: "Hands off Mexico!" We want none of these imperialist expeditions. Let Doheny go down and fight his own battles. Rockefeller, ditto. We will spill no blood for them!

Fortunately, the oil barons may take further thought of their Mexican business. Clearly, the American adventurers are worried by British competition. That is one reason why we have not been in Mexico long ago. The Britishers, world enemies of the Standard and other American oil companies, have announced loudly and vigorously that they will abide by the Mexican laws. To cloud their titles and perhaps have some of their lands handed over to these bitter rivals is not at all the game the Rockefellers and Dohenys want to play. Naturally, the obliging Kellogg will do anything they want of him.

It is well to take to heart, nevertheless, that the American people are being used as pawns in the imperialist game of the oil companies. The light of the Statue of Liberty is very near to being fed by the oil of the Lords of the Light of the World.

Following the Fight

With Comment Thereon

By THE MANAGING EDITOR

OUR AIM:

To Educate the Unorganized—To Stimulate the Organized—
To Unity, Militancy and Intelligent Action.

WATCH 1927!

New Methods Will Bring Revolt Against Open Shoppery

WE wish, at this beginning of a New Year, that our voice could reach every organized and unorganized worker in the country. We would bring them a message of great good news, based on the facts. We would show them that this fight between the Employers and the workers has just begun, and that the coming twelve months will see new life and light for the workers' cause.

Passaic is the beginning of a new era for the unorganized. Victory is crowning the brilliant battle of the workers there. How many heads were shaken in melancholy when that strike broke out! How many voices said, "It can't be done! The strike cannot be won!" We knew better, and we said so. Fanaticism and group loyalty were the keynotes of that mass rebellion—and against such forces even over-paunch-bellied Employerdom cannot stand. If these sweated textile slaves, in the face of bad industrial conditions, can win, then what can other unorganized workers—in steel, oil, and on the railroads—do? They can tear Open Shoppery to pieces, and we urge them to begin.

"To dare" is our password for the coming year. Daring grows only out of confidence. Organized Labor sees that. It realizes that the broadcasting of its message through publicity is the needed thing. That is the occasion for more hope. Let but the true facts come out—of the \$26 average wage in this country, of the great opportunity that immigration restriction gives for successful walk-outs, of the sham and camouflage of the various "benevolent" employer schemes—and the unorganized will respond.

Former President James Lynch of the International Typographical Union has seen this need, and has formed a publicity company to serve the big internationals. If Brother Lynch can safeguard his enterprise as a service to the Movement, then a fine step forward has been taken. At any rate, it indicates that Labor is hitting out on trails that will net a fine harvest within a short time.

Of more significance even, the Chicago Federation of Labor—that splendid, live body of trade unionists—has opened up its broadcasting station. Hereafter, the story of Labor's side of things will

go out over the radio. The Musicians' Union and the Actors' Equity Association have united to make the affair a success from the entertainment point of view. Will we not see, as a result, a decided change in the spirit of the unorganized, when they hear the facts about what they might gain from membership in the unions? President John Fitzpatrick and Secretary Ed. Nockels deserve congratulations for the job they have done.

Our own American Bureau for Industrial Freedom is no small contribution to the new fight, in itself. We shall carry the battle right to the factory gates, educating the unorganized by word of mouth to what they should be doing, stimulating our good brothers among the organized to seize the great opportunity which is theirs at this very hour.

The motion picture of the Passaic strike has already done much to bring the news of hope and action to sorely-pressed workers elsewhere. In the New England textile centers, the police and the mill owners have been much disturbed by its appearance. They understand what ideas its account of a FIGHT FOR VICTORY may put into the heads of their own men and women serfs.

That new era of organization, which we have confidently looked forward to, is upon us. These new methods, used in every nook and cranny of the country, will arouse the men and women who are but waiting for the call to revolt. Here is the winning program, Brothers:

1. Flood the newspapers with the achievements of Organized Labor, and nail the lies about "high wages" and the company unions.

2. Look about, to the unorganized industries in your neighborhood and begin the education of the unorganized. Lectures on facts, facts, facts, might be utilized PLUS the work at the factory gates.

3. Above all, we can go back to the old method of the appeal at the gates—knowing that Victory will come if we but persist in the job. In spite of police, in spite of courts, in spite of Thuggery and employerdom, let us (with the Fanaticism of the old labor men) make 1927 the Year of the Great Revolts, the Year of Unionism's New Triumphs! Watch 1927!

NAKED THOUGH CLOTHED
A Happy Story with An Unhappy Ending

RESPECTABILITY, in all ages, has encased itself in glad rags. It has counted much on the clothes making the man. Unconsciously, it has known that its silks and satins covered a mass of rotten sores and cancerous disease.

Respectability today, in the person of the Babbit class, follows the same role. In both its day-to-day life, and in its dealings with the workers, it counts much on appearances and little on the stark realities, which it does not dare to face.

In its game of preserving gentility in industry, it has found a host of fawning courtiers. They are our old friends, the personnel men, the champion pie-card artists of the present day and hour.

In an admirable book recently issued by the League for Industrial Democracy, we see the workings of the mind of one of these gentle souls. The book itself, *NEW TACTICS IN SOCIAL CONFLICT*, is a valuable little pocket manual for the trade unionist. It reveals the various forces at work today in the Employers' ranks, with a hint here and there as to the way to answer them.

Mr. Ordway Tead, a Liberal or ex-Liberal, comes forward in its pages to speak for the personnel men and their masters. Let us hear what he says in part.

MR. TEAD: (Speaking of Personnel Departments), "I merely say that to an unprecedented degree factories and stores in this country are being run by people who are mindful of the rights, interests, desires and aspirations of the rank and file."

THE FACT: There is no such development. There is no such thinking of the "rights" of the rank and file. Mr. Tead should name specifically who these Wizards of Wisdom and Bleeding Hearts of Benevolence may be. Does he mean the Bethlehem? Does he mean that Corporation with a Soul, United States Steel? Does he mean the Pullman Co.? Does he mean Forstman and Hoffman at Passaic? Does he mean the Generous Electric at Lynn? If he does mean them, he is a mere babe in the woods. All their false fronts of "industrial democracy" are pure bunk, maintained by force and threat, and that alone.

MR. TEAD: (Speaking of Company Unionism in Unorganized Industries), "The reason why these millions of workers in many of the most important industries have been outside the unions are numerous. But they certainly are not all due to wilful and sustained suppression on the part of employers."

THE FACT: Unorganized workers everywhere have been kept in that state CHIEFLY by intimidation and suppression. That is the case in every one of the institutions referred to in the previous paragraph. The unorganized worker, insofar as he wants anything, wants to be organized. That statement is not made from a swivel chair; it is made after talking to thousands of these workers in various industries. The Employers' slogan in fact is: "Be an Industrial Democrat; think as the boss thinks!" In direct language, "Become a freeman through further slavery!" Production is their God and the Personnel Man his prophet.

There is this healthful thing in Mr. Tead's beautiful dream of Things that Cannot Be: its lesson for Labor. Unionism cannot defeat these new artists in Slobbery by the methods of the past few years. There must be a new Fanaticism. There must be a new hammering at the factory gates. There must be a new spirit of Defiance to Courts and the rest of the legal rigmarole. There must be a "division of labor" between agitator and negotiator. There must be an extension of industrial unionism in totally unorganized industries. There must be a smashing with the facts, of such fairy tales as Mr. Tead's colleagues are getting over to the public.

These steps, carried out on a wide scale, will give Mr. Tead's happy story the proper unhappy ending—for those employer-appointed guardian angels of the working class. Then we will see the unorganized company-unionized workers as they are: clad in fake glad rags, but naked in reality.

WHAT SALEM DOES
It Seems We All Can Do

OUR thoughts upon the Personnel Pollyannas may lead to the charge that we are biased. To which we plead: Guilty, in the first degree.

We are as biased in our industrial vision as a permanently cross-eyed individual. The man who is not biased is a boob. He is not only too good for this world, but also for the heavenly regions. In the Great Beyond, he must be horribly biased in favor of the Good and against the wiles of Satan.

The thing is, not merely to be lop-sided in our view of this great struggle, but to affect others with the disease. That is our job. He that is not with us must be against us. There is no middle course.

For some time we have been shouting at the top of our lungs to Labordom: "Tell It to the Newspapers". Use the daily in your community to get over the Labor story. That it can be done, Salem, Mass., demonstrates most eloquently. Under the stimulus of the educational work of the central body in the hands of Charles L. Reed, the organized workers of that city are having their side of the case presented at least once a week—sometimes three or four times a week—on the front pages of the newspapers.

They are doing this: 1. By bringing in speakers who can give real facts, and not mere heated ozone, about the industrial situation, from Labor's viewpoint; 2. By preparing copy which the city desk can use; 3. By keeping in touch with the newspapers and letting them understand the point of view of Labor.

Salem, as a result, is really Labor-conscious. The union workingman does not have to apologize for his existence. There is a community appreciation that unionism is a vital necessity. BUT—and we always like that word—the full effect of such publicity will not be gained until other surrounding cities adopt the same methods and fill their papers with the same messages. Public opinion must be cumulative. In Lynn, Lowell, Gloucester, etc., etc., a like process must be gone through; and so for the whole State of Massachusetts. And so, for that matter, for the entire country. In that way we

will beat back the wave of anti-union sentiment, so carefully invented by the high-pressure pen-pushing artists of the Employers.

The outcome at Passaic demonstrates our conviction that a new era of organization is here. To reap the full harvest, we must persuade the unorganized that Unionism amounts to something, that it has an important place in life, that IT CAN WIN. The groundwork for all real organization must be widespread publicity, in the way it has been done at Salem. That is effective Workers' Education. It has Namby-Pamby wishy-washy "cultural" classes beat all hollow.

The Salem example is contagious. Lynn has already begun, to a degree, to take up the work. We believe that other cities will follow. And the wave of organization within the next few years in Massachusetts, if that is done, will be the fruit of "Buck" Reed's efforts, backed by his central body.

WISHING WON'T WORK

Of the Unhappy Hunchback and Other Things

WE have never contended that publicity is the only thing that local labor forces must tackle. As much as we emphasize it as the beginning of the business, we can readily recognize it merely as a beginning.

After it is well on its way, we must get down to the factory gates and educate the unorganized, face to face. The local labor leader who is too much of a statesman to go through the old methods of organization work, that made the Movement years ago, is very much out of place. He ought to get a job with the U. S. diplomatic service, where he can do nothing, splendidly and effectively. Who will say "Nay" to that?

Necessarily, this is based on the idea that he is an organizer and not a negotiator. Just at the present hour, however, we need more organizers and agitators and less negotiators.

And what splendid ammunition have we for the organization message! Think of this, brothers: the United States Department of Labor has just issued a report showing that the average wage for nearly a million trade unionists for the standard working week, when fully employed, is \$52.12 a week. Compare that with the average wage of non-unionists. Dangle it before the unorganized, in your message of union revolt, and watch the consequences.

Again, in answer to the question, "Whose Prosperity?": Reports of the New York Central Railroad, revealing its 1926 profits, show that two families who do nothing—the Vanderbilts and the Bakers—are taking from this one road enough to pay average wages to more than 3,300 railroad workers!

Mr. George F. Baker, Morgan's right hand man and head of the First National Bank of New York, receives \$1,733,589 of this past year's profits on the New York Central, while he will get cash dividends amounting to about \$850,000. His son will come in for \$235,950 out of profits and \$115,500 cash dividends. These two men,

THE PATH TO WASHINGTON



New York World

out of this one road, will get as much of the operating income of the road as 1,270 wage workers.

The Honorable Baker, Sr., will also pull \$490,000 out of the Lehigh Valley system this year, in profits and \$201,000 in cash dividends. And besides that, he owns in the Erie Railroad, as much stock as in these two other roads put together. So, he will have quite a Christmas, you can be assured; while some of the employees of the Eastern roads get their measly 7½ per cent increase from the arbitration board.

While this little carnival of refined corruption is going forward, in every big corporation in the land, the speed-up system is being keyed up to the *nth* degree. Starting in the unorganized motor industry, it is spreading elsewhere. The WALL STREET JOURNAL, in a series of articles this last month, tells all about the gang system, as practised in the Hudson Motor Car Co. in Detroit. The articles bluntly confess that this gang output plan, now in vogue in the General Electric Co. and other big industries, makes for automatic speeding up. If one man in the group falls down, the whole group pay is reduced. In consequence, every man sweats the other; the man who cannot keep up is forced out by his fellows. Dog-in-the-manger stuff prevails, one man is set against the other—and the dividends from these poor, shell-shocked fools flow in the millions into the coffers of the owners who toil not, neither do they sweat!

To Hell with such servility! Wishes will not destroy it. Closing our eyes and thinking it does not exist, will not batter it down. The man who lives under any such delusion is in as unhappy a state as the hunchback in the Arabian Nights' tale who swallow a wishbone, which stuck in his throat. We must get the wishbone out of our throats, and put a backbone in our backs. We must get out and ACT—calling the unorganized's attention to these facts, day in and day out, at the factory gates.

Vital Issues

WEBSTER THAYER ABETS MURDER

Or: If Sacco and Vanzetti Were Named "Fall" and "Doheny"

OUR judicial crime wave continues. One worthy gunman of the bench—the Hon. George English of East St. Louis—has resigned in disgrace. He made the unpardonable mistake of not merely attacking the workers through sweeping injunctions, but also of violating the sacred ethics of Private Property. He was crooked in bankruptcy proceedings, and an indignant Rotary Club world drove him into oblivion.

We hope against hope that a similar fate will be meted out to another underworld character in flowing robes—Webster Thayer of Massachusetts. He has attempted murder again in the case of Sacco and Vanzetti. Confronted with the overwhelming evidence of a frame-up on these two radicals, he closed his ears to the facts and said "Thumbs Down". The slim plots of the Department of Justice, revealed by operatives of that Department; the affidavit of a man that he had participated in the crime and that Sacco and Vanzetti were innocent of

it; the worse than circumstantial nature of the evidence offered against the men—were all thrown aside and judicial murder was again decreed.

If Sacco and Vanzetti had been named "Fall" and "Doheny", what a different story could we tell. With absolute proof against these latter thieves in high places, the courts have done all they could to block their coming to trial. Sacco and Vanzetti were sent to trial with remarkable speed, on this trumped-up charge of robbery and murder. But they were radicals. That, the Department of Justice men naively admitted, was the real charge against them. Accordingly, Webster Thayer says they should be wiped out.

We all have a duty in this case, as the A. F. of L. has repeatedly stated. Write Governor Alvin Fuller of Massachusetts. Demand the removal of the criminal Thayer. Demand the release or new trial of the innocent men. That is the least that we can do in this challenging situation.

"SAFE FOR JUDGOCRACY!"

Tyrants of the Bench and a New Commissioner

GOLDEN CALFERY and our Sacred Cow at Washington are twin bovines. The history of the Supreme Court has been a record of usurpation and tyranny. It is still at the same old stand.

William Gorham Rice, Jr., without particularly wishing to do so, gives a good view of this well-known fact in the beginning of a study of "The Constitutionality of Labor Legislation in the United States", appearing in the November issue of the INTERNATIONAL LABOUR REVIEW of the League of Nations.

In the United States, we are informed, the "activity of the courts in annulling legislation has been greatest". Our democracy is much of a judgocracy, it appears, the courts being busier in legislating for us under the guise of passing on the constitutionality of our laws than a one armed and one legged painter on a scaffold.

The extent to which we "free Americans" are the servants of a small group of men fit for the Osler treatment can be seen from one little case. It is that of hours-of-work legislation. The Holy Hocus Pocus at Washington rules that 10 hours can be legislated, on the plea of health regulation. But below 10 hours the legislatures have no right to go. Such legislation is not "reasonable".

In the case of LOCHNER VS NEW YORK, the worthy Wizards of Wisdumb held that a limitation of the hours of bakers was unconstitutional and an interference with "liberty"—because baking was not an unhealthy occupation! The said wizards should try their hand at the baking game and see how they would enjoy its healthful atmosphere.

We recall, with some amusement, how quickly the same set of infallible minds jumped to discover the constitutionality of an 8-hour law for railway labor, when the workers put the fear of God in their hearts. That is the only thing that will move them—Fear. At present, they salaam before the Mighty Gods of Wall Street. Let the workers everywhere, in true American fashion, but show how little they respect the flowing robes and senile mentalities of these worn-out old men, and another tale may be told.

It is no surprise to us, further, to see Little Calvin hearkening to the command of Mellon in his new appointment to the Interstate Commerce Commission. Cyrus Woods, go-between for the corrupt Vare and the corrupt Mellon-Pepper gangs, gets the plum. Mr. Woods is counsel for Mr. Mellon's Pittsburg Coal Co. The Pittsburg Coal Co. is attempting to add to its anti-union policy by a theft from the people in the shape of reduced freight rates. Mr. Woods will aid greatly to bring "light" to his learned colleagues upon that subject.

That beautiful soul, Henry David Thoreau, told us of the duty of "Civil Disobedience". When we behold such a mass of putridity parading as the "Law", we urge Civil Disobedience as a pleasure, as well. Let workers understand that the "Law" is their enemy; that the courts are their enemies, that there is "justice" for only one class in America. Then they will begin their real march along the road of American freedom.

At the present hour, these United States have been made fairly "safe for Judgocracy".

In Other Lands

AS THE NEW YEAR DAWNS

Reaction in Europe having got itself rigged up in some more or less hopeful fashion during the last year, trusts that it will be able to stay "stabilized" against Revolution. The bitter pill is that it has found a new master, the Mighty Men of Wall Street. Which is the occasion of all sorts of hatred against the U. S. A., and perhaps the breeding ground for future war.

British by-elections give Labor great gains everywhere. The erstwhile Liberal, Commander Kenworthy, goes in as a Laborite. Oswald Mosley goes in also. Farm districts, even, register Labor advances. Of course, there is much washing in, with this tide, of a number of sob-sister "Friends of Man" under the banner of Labor. But an idea is being gotten into the heads of the Britishers, anyway. There may be no stopping it, after a while.

Russia, having finally decided definitely for Stalin against Trotsky and Zinoviev, after much debate, continues to report commercial and financial progress. Stalin's victory means the victory of the "kulak", or richer peasant, and also a continuation of the "united front" idea. With able shrewdness, Russia has more than outwitted Britain in China. The Baldwin Government has been forced to go so far as to treat with Canton. The British reactionaries feel bitterly against the U. S. A. for not having gone into China for Imperialism's sake. The American banking interests, being able to get enough swag from the rest of the world without worrying about armies, just now, thought it the best policy to look on and saw wood.

Hungary holds "elections" which are as farcical as those of Spain of sometime back. Being able to vote for but one party is not much fun. Doubts begin to come into the minds of Wall Street as to the ability of Mussolini to pull his country through financially. The "Wall Street Journal" of December 3 admits it is "amazed" at his financial policies. The Pope—chief source of revenue to Italy—further disturbs the Strong Man's peace and quietude by attacking the whole idea of the Fascist State.

The International Federation of Trade Unions prepares itself for another fight for just social reconstruction, and for a continuance of the "war against war". Dutch Java revolts a little, but is not yet ready for a successful turnover. The East reddens with revolutionary movements, however, and much will be heard from that quarter in the future. China has shown other half-sleeping lands how it can be done. The Imperialists can by no means enjoy sound slumbers. Thus we stand, as a new year dawns on the hopes and aspirations of the workers of the world.

"BETRAYAL"

Governments are good promisers, but poor at fulfilling. Sleek statesmen have mumbled long about the 8-hour day for Europe and the world. Clear as day, it is now seen that they are thinking of something very different. The 8-hour day by legislation is all but expiring. Britain and Italy have given it mortal blows. Germany has not served it much better. So that at the recent meeting of the labor delegates at the International Labor Office at Geneva it was this broken promise which received most attention. Jouhaux of France bombarded the governments and asked

if they wished the workers to use "force" to get that which they had patiently waited for, by peaceful methods. Poulton of England characterized the whole proceeding up to date as a "betrayal of the working class." The governments signing the Peace Treaty had guaranteed the 8-hour day; it was up to them to redeem their pledge. The whole future of the I. L. O. was declared to be at stake, as the workers were growing tired of its ineffectiveness. The outcome was a commission to study the 8-hour question and to speed up, if possible, the movement in that direction.

Warm Welcome Home



Return of Marie—as seen by the "Newark News"

TO OUTLAW TRADE UNIONS.

While the Labor Party met at Margate, as we set down in this column last month, the British Tories were not idle. They also had a conference, out of which much of serious consequence may come. Fearful of "insurrection" and a thousand other calamities to themselves, they have set on foot desperate measures, which may lead to almost anything. Although Trade Unionism has been upheld in every election in which it has been an issue, the Baldwin government now proposes to strangle these organizations of the workers. According to this program, legislation will be passed: To make mass picketing and the picketing of a man's home illegal; to require national audits of trade unions by certified accountants; to make illegal any strike not called by secret ballot; to "increase the security" of the individual worker against intimidation on account of "political beliefs." The effect will be the choking off and outlawing of trade unions through the national finger in their affairs. The proposals are part and parcel of the conspiracy to crush the British workers, which the General Strike attempted to answer.

The action is plainly in defiance of the British "Constitution." The Tories, of course, have an overwhelming mechanical majority from the last election. But they were not returned on any such issue as this. It remains to be seen whether the Labor Party will carry on a gentlemanly campaign in Parliament, ending in nothing, or

LABOR AGE

whether they will raise a hue and cry through the country that will compel a General Election.

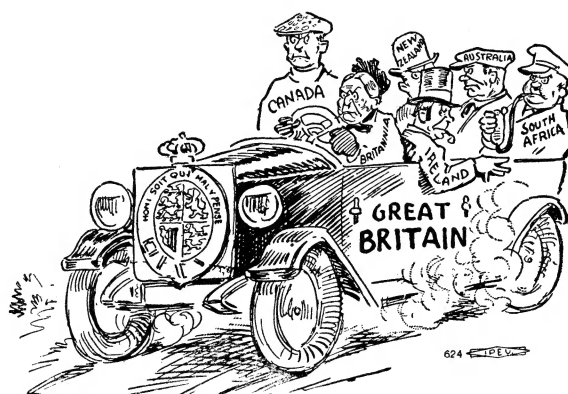
CHINA'S REVOLUTION GOES FORWARD.

International Banditry is thrown into amusing confusion by the business in progress in China. Worse things seem still to be in store for the Imperialistic Gang. The revolutionary government of Canton marches steadily onward, as per our forecast in these pages. All of the sleeping "Celestials" awakened to hail the dawn of a new day, in which their land will be free from unequal treaties and foreign devilment. Shanghai, boiling over with revolt, as the Cantonese army advances, threatens to go over bodily to the conquerors from the South. The military adventurers, on whom the British and Japanese governments in particular have counted, are torn by dissension and in danger from two sources—the Christian Feng from the North and the Cantonese Chang from the South.

Then, in a mad momentary effort to win back the sympathies of the Chinese people, the weak Peking government hit the powers a blow from the rear. This government had been carefully coddled by the said powers. Now it decrees the abolition of the unequal treaty with Belgium, as the beginning of the end of all the treaties of this sort. Belgium, alarmed, shouts at the top of its voice for help. It has mighty concessions to lose, if such a thing goes through. The powers do not dare to do much, however, and now begin to talk of conciliation with Canton. Our American papers catch the idea, and bandy it about. That is the amusing part of it. For the Canton government is solidly committed to abolition of all the unequal treaties; and it is the popularity of its ideas with the people that compelled Peking to act. We can see the day, dimly ahead, when the Canton government will be the government of all China. Too much cannot be expected of such a change, all at once. But it will bring a better chance for the Chinese workers, now so universally and horribly exploited—by foreign groups in particular.

THE VALLEY OF THE YANG-TSE.

It is a fertile region that has fallen, in large part, into the hands of the Cantonese. The valley of the Yang-tse River is the most important industrial district of China. It has rich iron ore and coal deposits. Its textile industry



George Matthew Adams Service

Everyman (to himself): "I'm tired of the old lady's driving. I wish I had a bus of my own."

is large, chiefly cotton spinning. The silk industry centers in Shanghai, at the end of the valley, where there are at least sixty factories. Ten thousand miles of navigable waters make its agricultural section a great trading ground. Rice, tea, soya beans, vegetable oil, cotton, silk and cattle come out of its rich land. Under the imperialist rule, just shaken off, the region deteriorated greatly, through the unequal customs laws and the pressure upon the peasants to engage in opium planting. This compelled the farming population to import food from the outside! In the heart of the valley lies the largest iron works in Asia, employing 100,000 hands, under the control of the Japanese.

That rapid growth in modern industry, which has changed districts in China almost overnight from the medieval handicraft system to large-scale mass production, has therefore been particularly felt in this important area. More than half of the immense population of China live within its confines, almost 235,000,000 in the valley in all. The proposal of the Cantonese to make Wuchang, as a central city, the new capital of the entire country will further appeal to its people. With this section firmly in its grasp, Canton will become the real ruler of the former Celestial Empire.

WORDS OF ENCOURAGEMENT

SO many good words come into our office that we cannot print them all. Our friends will understand that. Many letters have been standing in type for months, unpublished for lack of space. We will venture to quote the three following extracts, however, as they will let others know how much our efforts are appreciated:

STANLEY PAROLAK, Rec. Sec'y., Kenosha Trades and Labor Council, Kenosha, Wis.: "Dear Brother, I wish to thank you for your fine editorials, and especially at this time of the year. For, more than likely you know, this is the time of the year that publications of that kind get the workingmen's fancy. Work, his livelihood, is in a critical condition. So I thank you again, and wish you success."

JOHN J. BUCHANAN, President, Toronto, Ont., Local, Amalgamated Lithographers of America: "I must say, I enjoy the magazine very much, finding it very interesting and educational. It is what is required to help the Movement along at this time, when the capitalists are doing all in their power to smash our organizations."

JOSEPH SCHWARTZ, Secretary, Local 5, International Jewelry Workers' Union, Philadelphia, Pa.: "Local 5 of the Jewelry Workers realize the great need of a magazine with the courage and inspiration offered by the LABOR AGE. Its contents are illuminating, and we believe, if widely circulated, it would take the workers out of the dense ignorance in which the daily press keeps them."

At the Library Table

THE COAL MINERS' STRUGGLE.

OUR worker-heroes are largely unsung. Their adventures have gone down into oblivion. The stage of history is crowded with "statesmen" and butcherers of men. We hear much of Napoleon, Hindenburg and Caesar. But what of that American miner, somewhere down in the dark pit, some time before 1860, who first was struck with the noble fire of rebellion and fired other men, so that unionism came? The records of man answer not.

Some day, when the workers have fully triumphed, or even before that happy event, this defect may be remedied. Today we can merely content ourselves with reviewing the results of worker-pioneering. The vivid chapters of human drama that went into the struggle are largely lost, perhaps forever.

Prosaic, matter-of-fact, but decidedly helpful is the book that has come from the pen of Arthur E. Suffern, under the auspices of the Institute of Economics, on THE COAL MINERS' STRUGGLE FOR INDUSTRIAL STATUS. Step by step, we are led through the long series of battles that led to the miner's position as something of a citizen in industry, which has been his during the past few years.

And what was the result? An industry of the most complicated character—with thick seams here and thin seams there, with all sorts of natural irregularities that factory industry knows nothing of, running into chaos through fierce and ignorant competition—arose, under unionism, to some approach toward Order. Let the author speak for himself:

"When the miners and operators entered into joint conference in 1898 they had to deal with an industry that was developed to a point where under steady production it could more than supply the needs of the country. Irregularity of production, both seasonal and cyclical, already characterized it. Waste of resources, as a result of attempts to meet competitive conditions, was prevalent. Although Federal regulation of freight rates was largely ineffective and Federal control of the distribution of the supply of railroad cars was yet to come, thin vein mines were opened and continued to compete. Low prices, wages and small profits were typical.

"In the midst of this situation the operators and miners sought to establish uniformities and differentials which would bring some order out of the chaos and lift the industry out of competition. The differential system that has developed has not, it is true, resulted in absolute uniformity of conditions and complete competitive equality....

"The wage system which has been developed has, however, undoubtedly lifted the level of competition, by fixing a minimum below which wages cannot be cut. It has moreover, accomplished this result in a highly competitive industry which has been in a chronic state of overdevelopment."

Unionism has accomplished that, and more. Non-unionism now attempts to destroy this painfully built-up structure. Next spring will bring to a head the long crisis in soft coal. Having re-plunged the industry into confusion through extensive overdevelopment, the operators seek to

throw it into further chaos by widespread wage-cutting and anarchic non-unionism. This policy has increased the non-union field greatly during the last two years, under pressure of the excess number of mines and miners in the bituminous fields. It will not make for peace or order in Coal. Under-cutting in wages and prices will go on without end.

Of Company Unionism in the coal fields and of its poor fruits for the workers, this book also has something to say, and we have quoted most of it in our last issue. ("Two Pictures"). Chapter XI, which handles that subject, might well be read aloud in every local union and central body meeting, under "Good of the Union." In impartial language the author reviews the attempts made along the lines of "employee representation", concluding that the workers could never muster "the necessary unity to oppose the company if they disagreed strongly with the company's policies" and that "they are mostly dependent upon the company's good will." Facts obvious enough to any one familiar with the Labor struggle, but immensely helpful, by way of quotation, in educating the unorganized and that uncertain group called the "public".

Because of his strict injunction upon himself to be impartial, Mr. Suffern omits here and there to make a point which might have been made. Especially is this evident toward the close of the volume, where he comes to making definite suggestions. But this very impartiality makes his work one that can be quoted widely in the local press, by central bodies and local unions, in their effort to show the miners' case as the crisis of 1927 draws near. Out of the facts collected, we can urge with hammer and anvil the necessity of a 100 per cent nation-wide miners' union, rather than a nation-wide operators' group, rather than a dual policy of non-unionism now becoming the operators' program. Of course, the operators' program, of unionization, as the United Mine Workers has almost every possible occasion. for industrial citizenship will be concerned.

The book can be obtained from the Millan Company of New York, at 100 N. 4th St.

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Writ

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